

1966-1967 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists

**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1966

- 1966-01Jan15** NDP must speak out on Ottawa's Vietnam role
- *1966-Jan15 US escalation heightens opposition to Vietnam war
- *1966-Jan15 Ontario Teamster lockout – no contract, no work
- *1966-Jan15 New MLP-Parti Pris manifesto –Pt. 1of2 (R.B-D.F.)
- *1966-Jan15 Castro's attack on the Fourth International
- *1966-Jan15- Balance sheet of Tricontinental Conference in Havana (file)
- 1966-01Jan15 Canadian responses to Cuba
- *1966-Mar10 *Québec:" (1966 LSA/LSO Convention) Brock (D.F.)*
- *1966-Mar10 *On LSA-LSO Relations (PC statement to Convention*
- 1966-03Mar12 (Notes) The Bourhis-Brock* Debate (on Quebec)
- #1966-03Mar26a Vote (Hugh) Dowson Ctteeman, For a 1-Year Contract
- #1966-03Mar26b Motion passed on Local 112 political action, NDP support
- #1966-03Mar26c Hugh Dowson campaign flyers: No business unionism
- 1966-03Mar** Cross-Canada Mobilization against the war
- *1966-Mar Edit: Anything but what's necessary (on Viet war)
- 1966-03Mar Canadian (FPCC) urges Castro to reassess charges
- *1966-Mar What we've got from Ottawa on the war in Vietnam
- *1966-Mar US will never succeed- Quebec NDP Robert Cliche
- *1966-Mar New MLP-Parti Pris manifesto—Pt.2, by R. Brock (on file)
- 1966-03Mar Montreal tied up by anti-war demo & tech school protests

1966-03Mar	Roundup of (LSA-LSO Montreal & Toronto activities)
1966-04Apr	Opposition to Vietnam War rising Coast to Coast
*1966-Apr	5000 gather at Vancouver courthouse
*1966-Apr	Anti-war activists establish Vietnam group in Van.
*1966-Apr	Teamsters solid, 40-hr week now (won by Local 938)
*1966-Apr	The way ahead (after Ottawa march against war)
*1966-Apr	Cross Country with NDP (School NDY, Left Caucus)
*1966-Apr	Who killed Malcolm X? --trial & verdict fails answer
*1966-Apr	The Champion (Muhammed Ali-Cassius Clay) (on file)
1966-04Apr	Alberta NDP calls for nationalization of CPR (convention)
1966-04Apr	Aid the <i>Vanguard</i> drive – Objective set at \$5000
1966-05May2	Letter to Pat (M) Montreal: statement from Mike (Mill)
1966-05May20	NC Minutes: convention organization & agenda
*1966-May	<i>B-LSA-The NDP hardens (Kent) Fight against Vietnam War (file)</i>
*1966-May	<i>IB-Socialist Caucus-Theses on Quebec labor party-Union work file</i>
*1966-May	<i>IB :Reconquest of Quebec Sect. 1 by M. Bourhis (on file)</i>
*1966-May	<i>IB-LSA-Pre-convention documents by A. Miler & J. Frazer (on file)</i>
1966-06June13	PC Minutes re: Bourhis application leave of absence(LSO)
	Plus text: Kent Report on Montreal conference (LSO)
1966-06Jun	Cross Country with the NDP: Red-baiting, Vietnam
1966-06Jun	Nationalization of BC Tel (B.C. NDP convention)
*1966-Jun	Intern'l Vietnam protest planned for Aug 6-9 I
*1966-Jun	Editorial – Withdraw from NATO

*1966-Jun	LSA-LSO rally marks turning point
1966-06Jun	FPCC protests US threats to Cuba
1966-07July7	Letter to Bob & Pat, Montreal: comments on minutes
1966-07July	Step up protests against Vietnam war Aug 6-9
*1966-July	Oshawa or Tilco way? (fight direct action or courts?)
*1966-July	Quebec election upset—Lessons, by Dick Fidler (on file)
1966-07July	Alta. NDP Socialist Caucus – formation and program
1966-07July	<i>Vanguard</i> tour) in Northern Ontario: sub-blanks & movie
1966-08Aug	NDP leader joins Vietnam protests (Sask
*1966-Aug	(Niagara) Falls solidarity with (US) Ft. Hood 3
*1966-Aug	Across Canada Vietnam actions (QC, AB, BC)
1966-08Aug	(<i>Vanguard</i>) campaign across the Prairies (subs & movie)
1966-08Aug	Alta. NDP Socialist Caucus develops program
*1966-Aug	Castro speaks on aid to Vietnam, Path to power in LA (file)
1966-09Sept9	Written note (from RD) to Pat (M.): due in Toronto weekend!
1966-09Sept12	<i>Workers' Vanguard West Coast Supplement</i> – Vote NDP
1966-09Sept27	Letter to SWP re pagination fix for ISR; union shop prices
1966-09Sept	BC NDP misses possibilities in elections
1966-09Sept	Peasant hero Hugo Blanco under Peru court sentence
*1966-Sept	US blocks Vietnam medical aid
*1966-Sept	Hold hearings on US war crimes (Russell trib.)
*1966-Sept	J-P Sartre & B. Russell defend views on Vietnam
*1966-Sept	Toronto anti-war movement split

1966-09Sept	Book review – Origins of materialism (Novack)
1966-10Oct00	<i>WV – West Coast Supplement</i> : Fight jailing of Unionists
1966-10Oct25	Letter to Pat (M), Montreal, re need for article on PSQ
1966-10Oct	Ont. NDP rally engineered to election, Left firms up
*1966-Oct	Remember the fallen by opposing Viet war!
*1966-Oct	Russell answers critics on Vietnam War Tribunal
*1966-Oct	Fort Hood 3 & Carmichael inspire Viet War resistance
1966-11Nov6a	Letter to Pat, the promise of the labor party in Quebec
1966-11Nov10	Letter from John B. (W) of CC to Al Engler
1966-11Nov16	Vote Socialist: Jean Rands for Mayor, Vancouver B.C.
1966-11Nov22a	(B.C.) Vanguard Forum: Fight for Women's, Native Rights
1966-11Nov22b	(back) Socialist election Victory Party (B.C. LSA/YS)
1966-11Nov	Document (D. F.-Brock) Labor Party Question in Quebec
1966-12Dec	Toronto socialists up poll- Vancouver Race for mayoralty
1966-12Dec	B.C. Mayoralty candidate report
1966-12Dec	Ont. Controller & Trustee candidates' campaign reports
*1966-Dec	Montreal HQ raided, Left demands inquiry into police
*1966-Dec	Probe Quebec police, Montreal rally demands
*1966-Dec	War crimes tribunal on Vietnam launched (Russell)
1966-12Dec	Amnesty for Blanco! Protest at UN Peru Mission
1966-12Dec	US writer Sweezy speaks at pro0Cuba banquet in Toronto
1966-12Dec	Xmas gift suggestions: Canada-Vietnam News, etc.
1966-12Dec	Quebec LSO Forums meet good response

1966-98a Flyer draft for Board of Education, Ward 6, Toronto

1966-99 'The Battle of Algiers' (movie review by R.D.)

1967

1967-01Jan Ottawa hid) Lies on Vietnam bombings

*1967-Jan Lies on bombings shock the world- Ottawa hid facts

*1967-Jan U of T faculty protest (Vietnam war) (antiwar W16a)

*1967-Jan US escalation presses anti-war forces toward unity

1967-01Jan Vancouver (LSA) mayoralty fight – Rands polls 7.4% vote

1967-01Jan Cuba panel opens Fair Play for '67

1967-01Jan Cross Country with the NDP -- growth and expulsions

1967-01Jan Vanguard Forum a real Toronto event (Novack attends)

1967-01Jan Amnesty for Blanco! Alberta joins campaign, Sartre

1967-02Feb23a Letter to Dick (P.) Vancouver re: Tolentino back from Hanoi

1967-02Feb26a LSA-YSF Educational weekend- Canada Past, Present, Future

1967-02Feb26b Basic socialist reading list

1967-02Feb Silent on CIA-RCMP corruption of youth

*1967-Feb Build Assembly on Vietnam war (March 11)

*1967-Feb Hanoi charges Canada violates ICC obligation

*1967-Feb NDP leader joins appeal for Blanco (by R.D.)

*1967-Feb NDP should demand bank nationalization

1967-02Feb Where the action is, Fri night, Vancouver (LSA forums)

1967-02Feb LSA brief challenges committee on prices

1967-02Feb	New and different – <i>Vanguard</i> now volunteer-printed
1967-03Mar	Dr. Tolentino examining spent US missiles
1967-03Mar	Alta NDP to face key issues –Socialist Caucus
1967-03Mar	\$8000 get us a twice monthly (<i>Vanguard</i>)
*1967-Mar	US Viet protest urges International support
*1967-Mar	Canada-wide org. formed of anti-war students
*1967-Mar	Support for War Crimes Tribunal
*1967-Mar	Anti-war students Canada-wide group formed
*1967-Mar	Vancouver unionists project action against US war
1967-03Mar	Cross Country with the NDP –expulsions of activists
1967-04Apr23	Central Office (PC) circular re July 1 (Centennial) action
1967-04Apr	Ottawa sinks project; photo Dr. Tolentino
*1967-Apr	Ottawa sits on help for Vietnam children
*1967-Apr	Int. War Crimes Tribunal seeks Canadian aid (
*1967-Apr	LSA proposes united May Day (celebrations)
*1967-Apr	Drive for twice-monthly (<i>Vanguard</i>)
*1967-Apr	Labor decries War (Van.Council supports protest)
*1967-Apr	Pearson heckled for complicity in Vietnam
*1967-Apr	Aussie crews strike Vietnam war supplies
1967-04Apr	Ont. NDP brass expel advocates of socialism
1967-05Mid-May	Quebec committee backs imperilled Hugo Blanco
1967-05May	Que. Labor demands release Hugo Blanco (letter)
1967-05May	Guevara speaks out, breaks long silence

*1967-May	Take Vietnam to Expo 67 on July 1
*1967-May	Canadians at giant US march in N.Y.
*1967-May	Banff (NDY) seminar hears LSA on nationalism
1967-05May	<i>(Vanguard)</i> Fund drive tops aim
1967-06Jun	Que. boosts July 1 mobilization against Viet War
1967-06Jun	Report of B.C. NDP convention
1967-06Jun	NPD-Québec convention evades provincial arena
*1967-06Jun	Hit widening expulsions by Ont. NDP leadership
1967-06Jun	Alta. NDP contest – NDYouth discuss results
1967-06Jun	Toronto joins Intl. Protest for Debray (jailed in Bolivia)
*1967-Jun	Communist Party refuses to support July 1 action (file)
1967-07July6-0	IB Documents of 1967 Plenum
1967-07July28-1a	Letter to the Vancouver Branch executive
1967-07Mid-July	NDP shifts to right (Socialist Caucus intervenes)
1967-07July	NDP Caucus presented a socialist alternative
1967-07July	New socialist youth movement born
1967-07July	Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
*1967-July	Labor councils defy brass smear (on Blanco aid)
1967-08Aug8	Letter to Lloyd from RD re charge for internal bulletins
1967-08Aug	(Detroit Blacks) Ghetto revolts – second Vietnam? (file)
*1967-Aug	Why Quebec hailed DeGaulle's visit
**1967-Aug	July 26 Celebration of the Cuban Revolution (on file)
*1967-Aug	Toronto anti-war group joins big fall protest

*1967-Aug	Critics' Corner: Canadian Dimension –by R.D. (on file)
1967-08Aug	<i>Young Socialist Forum</i> – Centennial issue published
1967-08Aug	LSA/LSO Plenum meet discusses NDP, Quebec
1967-09Sept12	Letter to Pat re her relocation to Hamilton
1967-09Sept30a	Dowson By-election Campaign News (Colchester-Hants)
1967-09Sept30b	Press release: LSA announces Dowson as labor's candidate
1967-09Sept30c	Press release: The NDP must confront the new Tory leader
1967-09Sept30d	Press release: Socialist Caucus urges NDP candidate
1967-09Sept30e	Hamilton Spectator: "Good for Dowson – no free rides"
1967-09Sept30f	Flyer: "What are we do to: Ross Dowson" in Sydney NS
1967-09Sept	Labor must enter Que. Politics – LSO
1967-09Sept	Ross Dowson speaking at Vanguard Forum
1967-09Sept	Hippie's love balked as cops batter sit-in (YS forum)
*1967-Sept	Aid draft dodgers – should anti-war groups aid
*1967-Sept	Anti-war GI takes views into army
*1967-Sept	War Crimes Tribunal continues its inquiry
*1967-Sept	OLAS parley—Castro scores CP's 'Peaceful road' (on file)
1967-Oct16	FPCC circular letter re English subs for Cuban journal <i>Granma</i>
1967-Oct99	Flyer: Rally & send-off for Ross Dowson, LSA candidate
1967-10Oct2	Dowson labor candidate in Nova Scotia By-election
1967-10Oct	Vote poses the issue: Labor against Capital
*1967-Oct	Oct. 21 protest (International Days against Viet War
*1967-Oct	Alliances tie Canada to new missile grid

*1967-Oct	New twice-monthly (Vanguard) marks advance
*1967-Oct	Edit- For NDP victories! In Saskatchewan & Ontario
1967-10Oct	Regis Debray indicted (in Bolivia); Petition seeks release
*1967-Oct	The time to say “No!” Article by Austin C. Clarke (on file)
1967-10Oct	Young Socialists launch new Vancouver centre
1967-10Oct16	NDP youth back Dowson Nova Scotia campaign
*1967-Oct	October 21 protest–world opposition to Viet war
*1967-Oct	Edit- Tell it as it is! (advice for NDP “idea man”)
1967-10Oct	Turmoil in Teamster Local (Trade Union Notes)
1967-10Oct30	Students, unionists join Oct. 21 rallies (Vietnam)
1967-10Oct	Che Guevara – His cause will triumph
*1967-Oct	LSA campaign (NS) wins as NDP forced to run
*1967-Oct	The elections & the NDP (proven the labor party)
1967-10Oct	Nationalism in Quebec, by A. Young
1967-11Nov9-1	Vote Labor, Ross Dowson in Colchester-Hants Nov. 6 (LSA)
1967-11Nov9-2	Press Release from Fair Play for Cuba Cttee: Canadian apology
1967-11Nov13	Quebec labor meet -labor unity, autonomy (J.M.)
1967-11Nov	What's behind the lies against Cuba?
*1967-Nov	Vancouver cttee aids fight vs Viet war
*1967-Nov	Canada & the Bolsheviks -the boys came home 1917 (file)
1967-11Nov27	'Che' was captured alive, then murdered
1967-11Nov	Life of 'Che' Guevara – Che (slain in Bolivia)
*1967-Nov	Tribute to the First Workers' State (Soviet Russia) (on file)

*1967-Nov	Life of 'Che' Guevara devoted to revolution (on file)
1967-11Nov	Cross Country with the NDP
1967-11Nov	(NDY leader) Novalkowski – Stand for socialism
*1967-Nov	Martin double-talk on arms sales (photo protest
*1967-Nov	76K reject Vietnam War in 'Frisco referendum
1967-12Dec11	Cross Country with the NDP (Sask. NDP, polls)
*1967-Dec	Editorial - Who will speak for Quebec?
*1967-Dec	New protests focus on Canada's Vietnam role
*1967-Dec	Books – Witnesses of crimes in Vietnam
*1967-Dec	What to do if the bomb drops (no problem in BC)
1967-12Dec	Photo: Student power (Montreal sit-in)
1967-99a	Elect Art Young Board of Control (LSA)
1967-99b	The challenge: Vietnam & Price escalation, metro medicare
*1967-Dec	Zionism attacked—Statement of Socialist Jews & Arabs (file)

I. S. Escalation Heightening Opposition to Vietnam War

By Art Young

In the past month there have been several important indications of the possibilities of building a mass movement against the Vietnam war.

The New Democratic Youth have called for a massive protest rally in Ottawa on March 26. The rally will demand an end to the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people and outline and condemn Canada's guilt. It could serve as a most important action, mobilizing and uniting anti-war youth in common effort; this would have positive repercussions both on the NDP and the anti-war movement. It would also encourage the now embryonic anti-Vietnam-war committees in many Ontario towns. For those unable to reach Ottawa, the NDP will organize support demonstrations in key centers across Canada on that date.

Simultaneously, the American Government to end the Vietnam war will be holding protest actions across the U.S. and overseas support actions will also occur. Such a co-ordinated across Canada effort on March 26 promises to result in an even more powerful opposition to the war than occurred Oct. 16.

Numerous other developments, particularly in Toronto, are indicating new possibilities of effective, united action.

An all day Conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam is being called on February 19 under the joint auspices of Canadian Action for Peace, Toronto Committee for Disarmament, Toronto Peace Center, Toronto Association for Peace, Toronto International Vietnam Day Committee, Students Against War, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others. Among the many prominent figures who have signified their intention to participate are: H. W. Herring, NDP M.P., numerous academic and religious leaders, John Pole-Langdon, executive member of the Toronto and District Labor Council, Joe Messin, regional director of the Millinery Workers Union, and other unionists.

At least two former members of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission, assigned to police the Geneva Accords, intend to expose the true role of that body. The conference thus seems assured of wide publicity in its efforts to bring out the truth about Canada's guilt to a wide audience.

The fact that within a matter of hours of Johnston's resumption of bombing of North Vietnam some of the above organizations were able to mobilize an effective protest of almost 200 persons in front of the U.S. Consulate General speaks well of future possibilities. It seems quite likely that a functioning Toronto Vietnam committee can be formed. Such a committee would represent a step forward to effective opposition to the war.

On February 18 a mass meeting on Vietnam will be held in the Toronto area featuring NDP deputy leader David Lewis. This meeting, under the official auspices of the party, is the result of pressure developed by a number of prominent NDP activists. Concerned with the NDP's failure to effectively oppose U.S. actions or to even expose Canada's complicity, they organized a public meeting to feature NDPers speaking out on these issues. They met with instant response, attracting a wide spectrum of leading NDPers as sponsors, along with a number of NDP constituency clubs.

Unable to kill the meeting, the Toronto area leadership were forced to go along by taking it over. Despite the desires of the leadership that the meeting "not degenerate into another protest" there is no doubt that NDPers and others will view it precisely as an occasion to express their protest. This NDP meeting marks

another opportunity for the anti-war movement, and a victory for the NDP left wing, showing its ability to push the party into action.

All these plans for concerted Vietnam action are a welcome change from the past sectarian attitudes of the traditional anti-war forces. While the past attitudes have not disappeared, the desire for united action is becoming evident. The increasing gravity of the Vietnam crisis is crystallizing Canadian opposition to the war. The need now is to channel developments into the most effective forms. For one thing, this means attempting to gain the widest possible unity in action. It also means continuing to push the NDP to meet its responsibilities—consistent opposition to the U.S. war, and exposure of Canadian complicity.

Merchant of Death



Canada is selling aircraft that are playing an essential role in Washington's genocidal war. Ottawa has imposed controls on uranium exports to insure that they are not used for nuclear bombs. But Trade Minister Robert H. Winters is now off to Paris to work out suitable terms for French purchases.

NDP Must Speak Out on Ottawa's Vietnam Role

By Ross Dowson

With a warning that any attempt to involve Canada in the war in Vietnam by giving military aid to the U.S. would split the country as it has not been split since the 1917 conscription crisis, NDP leader T. C. Douglas challenged the Pearson government to make a clear statement that Canada would not engage in military adventures in S.E. Asia.

Mr. Pearson solemnly responded that there is no possibility of Canadian military aid being sent to Vietnam.

Taken in by and hailing Washington's cessation of bombing of North Vietnam, the NDP leadership appealed to the Pearson government to use its good office to urge that the pause continue until the parties concerned are at the conference table.

External Affairs Minister Paul Martin assured the house that the government has urged the U.S. to continue the pause in bombing as long as possible.

What then is the difference between the NDP's position on the war in Vietnam and the position of the government? The Liberals, along with the Tories and Social Credit, both of the Thompson and Coquette varieties, support Washington's role in Vietnam all

down the line—with of course certain reservations, modest ones to be sure, as to "excesses" that might be pointed out from time to time.

The NDP leadership on the other hand have expressed opposition to Washington's role in Vietnam. The honorary president of the party was dignified with being quoted in the only article touching on the Vietnam war in the January issue of the Ontario New Democrat. Looking at Vietnam, he said: "I see the greatest democratic and Christian country in the world (the United States) committing atrocities in some ways as terrible as those of the German generals during the last war." But as one who can sympathize with the slave in revolt and at the same time the slave owner about to be deprived of his slave, he also attacked the "promoters of communism who are trying," he said, "to stop the march of progress with guns." To make sure that there was no doubt that he was referring to the long-suffering, heroic fighters of the National Liberation Front, he said "I see atrocities on both sides."

But fortunately the rest of the leadership has not expressed the shameful views of Mr. Coldwell. If it has been equivocal with regards to identification with the popular revolution in Vietnam it has clearly condemned the U.S. Back last spring Douglas gave a speech in the commons, now well buried in Hansard, the chief merit of which was its condemnation of U.S. aggression there as threatening to "escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth," and its characterization of the war on the part of the U.S. as an attempt to crush a legitimate effort of the people in Vietnam to rule themselves unhampered by the big powers.

NDP M.P. Andrew Brewin touched on this in his contribution to the debate on the speech from the throne when he said that Washington's claims that it is in Vietnam to protect South Vietnam sovereignty and to contain communist aggression in S.E. Asia are unacceptable. He

(See Page 2—MOBILIZE)



Vol. 10, No. 8 (116), Mid-January, 1966 — Toronto — 10 Cents

Ontario Teamster Lockout Projects Battle Cry—No Contract, No Work!

By P. Kent

Feb. 1—Halt the highway transport in Ontario, the 10,000 trucks that link Quebec to Sarnia and Toronto to Cochrane stand idle. The 25,000 workers in the transport industry have been locked out of their jobs some 8,500 members

of the Teamsters' Union. In short order they pushed out into the street another 13,000 inside workers at 175 depots and are gradually paralyzing key sectors of Ontario industry. Within hours 12,500 workers because of shortage of parts.

The pretext for this vicious, this calculated assault on the

teamsters and their families by the profit-hungry transport bosses was the strike of January 20 against the small Consolidated Truck Lines operation. The trucking bosses' arrogantly defiance against all companies involved in negotiations and closed all terminals.

The bosses took this drastic action in the belief that the situation is favorable to smash the union in the key Toronto area. This confidence does not spring from any misconception about the desire of the ranks to win the 40 hour work week, from which the federal government exempted the transport bosses, or any feeling that they are not in dead earnest in their demand for the dropping of the reprisals that the companies have imposed on the union for a wild-cat action early last fall. The bosses launched this bold action in order to take advantage of the fact that the ranks have no democratic rights through which they can really effectively mobilize their forces and fight. The efforts of the Toronto rank and file to toss out President Ken McDougall and his

(See Page 4—TEAMSTERS)

West Coast Woodworkers Are Talking Up 30 for 40

By Allan Engler

If the mood of militancy shown by members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) in the first few days of 1966 is any indication, this year will see even bigger trade union struggles than last year in B.C.

On January 10, members of IWA Local 1-417 working for H. K. Lumber in Salmon Arm voted 71 to 8 to go on strike. Key issue in the dispute is a union demand that there be no distinction between wage rates for men and women workers. There are no

women working in the mill at this time. But since the company insists on having lower wage rates for women written into the contract, workers aren't putting much faith in a company "promise" to not replace any male employees on the payroll with lower-paid women.

Along the coast, and on Vancouver Island IWA members have had a number of wildcat strikes during the first half of January. Although the coast Master-Agreement doesn't expire until June

(See Page 2—IWA)

48% OF MONTREAL LIVES IN POVERTY

Almost half of the people living in Metropolitan Montreal, 48.6 per cent, "live a precarious or marginal existence". One-third live in actual privation or abject poverty.

These shocking facts were revealed by a study sponsored by the Montreal Labor Council and announced to 1,000 guests celebrating the council's 80th birthday.

Professor Gosselin in presenting his survey noted that "Fifty-one per cent of the poor families in Montreal are earning a wage and, independent of other reasons, owe their poverty to the low salary of the family head."

In his report he stated "In our time as in all others, progress has not prevented poverty. But our society shows a characteristic which no other has ever had—it tolerates poverty in the midst of abundance, at a moment when it has everything it needs to settle the problem."

While Professor Gosselin's general denunciation of present day Canadian capitalist society did not clearly pose the need for a new social order where the exploitation of labor by capital would be eliminated, he emphasized that welfare could not do the job. It will always come too late he said, "as long as we refuse to take the real economic and political decisions which our various states of poverty require."



A study-in by some of the 25,000 students who struck Quebec's trade and technical schools for over a week when Quebec's Department of Education unilaterally extended the school term from June 4 to June 23. Education Minister Gerin-Lajoie threatened to cut off the \$10 a

month allowance paid to parents of 16 and 17 year old students, to suspend bursaries and student loans, and blamed activists connected with the separatist movement with trying to paralyze the government.

#116 Jan. 1966

Canadian Responses To Recent Cuban Happenings

"The Canada-Cuba Friendship Committee has changed its name to the Canada-Latin America Committee." So reads a statement in a bulletin published in the name of the latter organization. In explanation the statement notes that Cuba, which accomplished the first socialist revolution in the Americas, still blockaded by the U.S.A., its leadership recently accused by President Frei of Chile with fomenting a strike wave there, has "in the past few years achieved enormous successes." Elsewhere in Latin America, it notes, the people "are fighting against oppression and for the independence and progress of their countries," and it expressed support of these efforts.

The Canada-Latin America Committee Bulletin devotes one of its four pages to the Tricontinental Congress held in Havana in January. The report slurs over the powerful anti-imperialist appeal made by Castro, which was also the main thrust of the resolutions adopted there, calling for armed struggle and "a common strategy on this continent, more than anywhere else; a

common simultaneous struggle." The space was devoted to summation of a number of resolutions on the struggle in various parts of the world, the one on Cuba, incidentally, calling "upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to intensify still more their solidarity with the heroic people of Cuba who accomplished the first Socialist revolution in America."

The April issue of *Progressive Worker*, published in Vancouver, comments on the Canadian Communist Party press' version of one of Fidel Castro's recent attacks on the Chinese. It states that "these gentlemen do not seem able to grasp the fact that not the CPSU, not the CP of Canada, not even with Fidel Castro added to their ranks, can turn aside the Chinese Revolution from its chosen path. Only the CP of China could do that and it seems unlikely that its battle-steeled veterans will be frightened by the bleating of a flock of scared sheep."

In response to Castro's attack on the Chinese for their breaking of a previous agreement to supply rice, the editors of PW state that "Cuba's problems are not of China's making. They are the result of policies being applied by Cuban leaders."

PW scores the leaders of tiny harassed Cuba with failure to develop a self-sufficient economy — with adopting a policy based on a "world division of labor." They ascribe this, not to the economic theory of socialism, but to the influence of the Soviet government. It was for their failure to adhere to this principle that Ché Guevara has scored the Soviet leadership.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is circulating its recent appeal to Premier Castro, along with the full report of the Tricontinental Congress, including Castro's summary speech. The Committee expressed the hope that Castro would reassess and repudiate charges he made in this speech against *Monthly Review*, Adolfo Gilly, the press of the Spanish POUM, and the Fourth International. The committee has announced that its latest publication effort, Che Guevara's *Socialism and Man*, is now coming off the press.

JUST OUT

Documents of the World Congress of the Fourth International

analyzing the

- International Situation
- African Revolution
- Sino-Soviet Conflict
- West Europe Developments

in the Spring 1966

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

\$1.00

from

Vanguard Bookstore

824 Yonge Toronto

1208 Granville Vancouver

dispute - hinges on method!
importance of method

pen notes by ?

RMA-1

brock document highlights the main problem--the method of marxist analysis disagreements on the facts--

but the main divergence is in method

~~bourhis~~

1940 burnham shaftman dispute

russian question? organization & the regime&

trotsky said: method is primary! --diversion

--but later, burnham admitted he was right.

examining bourhis analysis:

detail and as a whole

completely misled by formal logic.

read novack quotes from frontpiece of brock's document.

show a case where dialectics is necessary!

BOURHIS-BROCK DEBATE

areas of agreement in this discussion

- 1- the existence of a french-canadian nation, in the several million french-canadians who live in and around the present boundaries of quebec.
an historically constituted people, common language, cultural tradition and common national consciousness
- 2- the french canadian nation is an oppressed nation, subordinated politically to ottawa, and economically to english-canadian and american capital
manifested in lower wages, living standards,
in the language question
- 3- the source of french canada's national oppression lies in its subordination to imperialism. ~~the~~ whatever happens regarding political independence, regarding possible concessions on the language question, national oppression can only be ended by breaking free of imperialism, and that will mean a socialist revolution. the national question ultimately requires a class solution.

and as for the present political conjuncture:

we call for a labor party, a part of the trade unions: to pose the politicization of the trade union movement. called for a conference of qfl, cntu, socialist organizations, ~~to discuss the formation of a party~~ ndp--to found this party

(Bourhis = M. Ke Mill - ed.)

good information
then tea - boils away to
nothing
hold a candle to it.

a structure of formal laws--plug in a few facts--out comes the complete ready-made solution

"the national question and the class question are inseparable. they cannot be considered as anything else but different facets of the class question itself"

"it is from the characterization of the nation as a whole and the definition of the precise role of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the imperialist bourgeoisie, that the basic strategy of revolutionary socialists must come."

- a) all nations where foreign capital are predominant are colonies (p15)
- b) in all colonies the struggle for national liberation is primordial (p520)
- c) in an industrialized, proletarianized colony, the demand for national liberation must be for an "independent workers republic" (p53)
- d) wherever the struggle for national liberation, including for a separate state, is primary, we require a separate revolutionary party. (p62)

facts

5

facts

1- quebec is dominated by foreign capital

subsidiary, corollary arguments

- 1- the quebec workers are nationalists - *irrelevant*
2- the quebec bourgeoisie is nationalist, is a powerful cohesive class now more and more becoming the ruling class in quebec, heading for an autonomous and independent quebec.

(purpose:--hard to see the significance of the argument. conclusion--
what importance to the national struggle?
answer--we must out-nationalist the national bourgeoisie.)

the laws of formal logic

a is a
a is not non-a
a is either b or non-b

of dialectics

a is a and non-a
a becomes non-a
a is and is not b

"a is always changing--in different directions. at a given point, a becomes other than itself."

6

bourhis on the national and class questions

"the national question and the class question are inseparable. they cannot be considered as anything else but different facets or forms of the class question and the class struggle."

"the resolution of the national question is not a task subordinate to the world socialist revolution, they are inseparably united as parts of the same struggle." -- a "dialectical unity" -- *this is "from revolution" means*

"the nationalism of the working classes of quebec is nothing more than the expression in a different form of their class consciousness."

"a somewhat upside-down formulation of the menshevik-stalinist theory of stages: the national and class struggles are separated into two distinct categories, only in this instance it is the second category that is given the importance"

"by subordinating the national struggle to some schematic (!) class struggle separate from it, nationalism is handed over to the bourgeoisie"

~~What is the national question?~~

2 in subordinating the national question, the p.c. either ignores the national question, or reduces it to a bourgeois question

brock on the national and class questions "formal logic excludes difference from identity"--5th weakness. 7

- 1- the national question is a bourgeois question. arose in the struggle of the bourgeoisie for a nation state. today an expression of the incomplete character of the bourgeois revolution--of capitalist decay. the demand for self-determination is a democratic demand.
- 2- the permanent revolution: not that the socialist struggle is identical.. rather the national struggle takes on a class significance. it carries over, and can only be resolved in, the socialist revolution. thus "the national question can be encompassed in the more general, more fundamental class question".
- 3- the national question is subordinate.-- ~~make~~ the class struggle gives the national struggle its progressive content. we raise "national" demands solely insofar as they can be linked to "class" demands, insofar as they raise the class consciousness of french-canadian workers.
- 4- there is indeed a dialectical unity of national and class questions today. in quebec. not bourhis's formal unity, -- identity! the difference is preserved, the contradiction is preserved.
- 5- bourhis's formal method leads him into the contradiction: if the questions are inseparable--has the national question not disappeared from sight? has he not extinguished it? no--he has taken the other road out of his formal dilemma, ~~making it~~ making it predominant, determining of our str.

the five basic errors of formal logic 8

- iii-formal logic excludes difference from identity
- iv- the laws of formal logic are presented as absolute
- v - "formal logic can presumably account for everything--except itself" and bourhis' formal laws cannot be proven.

the national question determines our strategy -- title what does it mean? 9

"it is from this characterization of the nation as a whole and the definition of the precise role of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the imperialist bourgeoisie that the basic strategy of revolutionary socialists must come".

touched on in brock document. discusses the key importance of the situation of the working class. its relationship with the working class of the oppressor nation. its interrelationship with other classes in the oppressed nation--eg. is there a huge oppressed peasantry? what role are the urban petty-bourgeois playing? to what extent ~~the~~ is there a defined national bourgeoisie.

fundamental methodological difference

bourhis starts from the national question--gives it priority, determining position.

brock start from a class analysis.

crops up in the demand for a workers republic:

given quebec is an industrialized colony, bourhis deduces that our program must center on national liberation. on the national demand for an independent workers republic.

how to approach must proceed

p.32-3
quote
(near end)

a colony is defined by the predominance of foreign capital

bourhis quotes trotsky: "in this sense, tsarist russia was also a colonial country, and we use this expression because of the predominant role of foreign capital"--p15

in reality, trotsky says "in one sense" -- changing the whole meaning what the passage goes on to say--the use of the word colonial doesn't help

you much. russia was, in one sense, a colony. but ~~that was not the case~~

~~xxxxxx~~ russia was also a major imperialist power. use of

the term "colony" not too helpful.

colonial and semi-colonial countries differ extraordinarily from one another in their degree of backwardness.

the formal trap! once again!

the third major fault of formal logic "formal logic excludes difference from identity". a is a. period.

~~xxxxxx~~

read trotsky, in the brock document, page 29-30

Ward:

the laws of formal logic reflect certain features of reality, but distort and fail to reflect others. moreover, the aspects which it falsifies and cannot express are far more pervasive and fundamental than those it more faithfully depicts...as a result this instrument of truth becomes in turn a generator of error."

Law of identity either a colony or not / either... and not

the demand for an independent workers republic

error iv. of the formal approach. (1)
"the laws of formal logic are presumed as absolute."

BOURHIS: in all colonies the struggle for national liberation is predominant which means the struggle for political independence (as well as economic independence, etc.) *error I: formal logic cannot explain itself*

brock: marxists have always made a distinction, in the case of oppressed nations, between the right of national self-determination and actual separation from the oppressor state. the key question is (not foreign ownership) but the organizational and political relations between the proletariat of the oppressor nation and the proletariat of the oppressing nation.

no formula will do the job--have to examine concrete situation.

example: on one hand ireland, algeria, on the other negro question, ukraine

bourhis abstracts from all these relationships, and tries to get his formula to pull him through

trotsky on a somewhat similar case: the direction of the working people not clear: (p7)

"the slogan of self-determination (...is crucial). but this slogan falls within the sphere of democratic opinion. it is not for us, of course, to ~~xxxxxx~~ commit the catalans and basques to separation from spain, but our duty is to fight for their right of separation if they so wish. but how can we know their desires in the matter? it is very simple. there must be a plebiscite on the basis of universal and secret suffrage. ~~at~~
~~the men~~

the nationalism of quebec workers - introduced as evidence

12

contradiction in bourhis' analysis

- a) the national bourgeoisie's weakness leads to the rise of working class nationalism
- b) the national bourgeoisie's strength is the cause of working class nationalism.

(is not this "nationalism" a result of their situation of their class in an oppressed nation?)

and

- a) existence of a pariah mentality--accept position as inferiors
- bb) existence of generalized nationalism in the working class

national self-confidence and nationalism--important distinction

the national self-confidence is indeed general: ~~an~~ national self-identification. recognition of the situation of the nation
nationalism: is the program for separation.

clear that most workers have the former, do not accept the latter
draws parallel with u.s. negro struggle--progressive role of national self-
~~confidence~~ consciousness, not ~~so~~ so with separatism

read breitman, using different terminology, p18:

"black nationalism and separatism (read nat cons and natz) are not the same thing, though unfortunately they are often confused. separatism is a program, a tendency favoring the withdrawal of negroes into a

13

th natz o qu wkrs

separate black nation, either in america or in africa. black nationalism is a tendency ~~for~~ for negroes to unite as a group, as a people, in organizations that are negro-led, etc...

contradiction: clear in the ~~theses~~ theses: thesis 4 & 5

nat cons defined first as identification as french-canadians, then as ~~black~~ consciousness and hatred of ~~black~~ english domination.

nationalism: first as a program, then as a separatist program.

in my view, the second definition better in both cases.
needs more thought.

importance of method

14

novack on the significance of the discussion

resurgence of national question in decaying capitalism--even in advanced states
proceeding by good dialectical method *new problems*

polemical clarification

progressive approximation

last convention 1966

brock "quebec"

pc "lsa-lso relations"

bourhis--answer to both--"the reconquest of quebec"

since then, clarification of the labor party question

now brock: reply to bourhis "quebec and the national question. the reconquest of the marxist method"

pc: "theses on quebec" - *line and bk doc*

the struggle for national liberation requires a separate party

~~three~~ ^{two} major reasons put forward.

1. bourhis accepts the criterion of the pc resolution ~~xxx~~ on lsa-lso unity
4 (p.33--read quote from brock document)--my opinion not quite enough
claims that tis clearly headed in separatist direction
that it is in fact a separate struggle, already directed not against ottawa
(this would raise to the fore the question of unity of english and
french workers)
but against quebec ...and washington.

to do this, he needs his premise about the rise of the fr. cdn..bourgeoisie.

- 2; the alleged hostility of fr. cdn. workers to eng. cdn. workers
experience since then shown even more ~~xxx~~ strongly: hostility vastly
overestimated. poss\$bility of collaboration in one orgztn excellent
--even in union movement and labor party (with provisions for autonomy)
all the more so for us!!

conclusion:

*ingstine or disc
value which doesn't*

A new ruling class in quebec

rise since 1943 of a national bourgeoisie, cohesive, links within itself
rather than with english capital, its own firm financial base,
nationalist--in sense that it is ~~using~~ building its own state, becoming
the ruling class already in quebec, headed for autonomy or independence.

significance??

- 1- primary factor is national--the national bourgeoisie which has
created national consciousness on the side of the working class.
- 2- particular urgency to our nationalism--their nationalism must not
be allowed to capture the workers.

modern concentrated
finance capital

no evidence to support claims

there is evidence of the feebleness, marginal character,

and that the significant fr. cdn. capitalists are tied to english interests
evidence of self-conscious nationalism is lacking, as well as "separatist"
direction

weakness of financial institutions. importance of exports to english canada.

the main roads--economic and political--lead back to the primary enemy: ottawa

(Founded in 1966)

vote DOWSON

SKILLED TRADES COMMITTEEMAN

Dear Sirs and Brothers,

I, Hugh Dowson, the incumbent, solicit your vote in the election for your Skilled Trades Committeeman and your representative on the Negotiating (Bargaining) Committee.

In the final year of our collective agreement the candidate that wins this election will represent you on all the issues in the coming agreement. There is no shortage of demands and almost unlimited promises from the International Union. The question of priority is the only debate.

I contend that the one year contract is the most important issue of all those that are of a non-monetary nature. Over 30% of all grievances in the local union come from the less than 10% of the workers who comprise Skilled Trades and they are bogged down in the delay of the grievance procedure. Worthwhile and legitimate grievances are stifled in a mass of red tape, double-talk and evasive answers as a conscious policy on the part of the company.

I stand on my record, and report to you that I have taken every step possible to co-ordinate and inform the shop stewards in the zone. While your representative I contend you have always got the maximum service possible from me.

Of course there are few victories to boast of during the life of a company-union agreement. But I have to the best of my ability attempted to maintain all the conditions we had already achieved in past negotiations. We are more and more hard pressed as the company attempts to soften-up the local union in preparation for the coming battle next year.

The problem facing local 1967 is that of consolidating and building the union and its committees to counter the undermining policies of the company. The problem is to build meaningful and effective committees so that when negotiations start we will start negotiations on the highest possible plane. All the auxiliary forces need to be rallied. We need a union paper immediately. We need effective recreation and welfare committees, more sensitive to the needs of the membership. We must link our union up to the rest of the labor movement and in the communities. In unity there is strength. Affiliate our local to the Brampton and Toronto Labor Councils. We should implement our unions policy of participating in political action behind labor's party -- the NDP.

I intend to the best of my ability to fight as I have in the past to establish an effective leadership group in the new local union so that we can enter into meaningful and fruitful negotiations. Let us build a local union to start the second century properly.

AGAIN I ASK YOU TO VOTE HUGH DOWSON--SKILLED TRADES COMMITTEE.

for a 1 year contract

Whereas . . The Toronto and District Labour Council endorsed and campaigned for a large wslate of candidates in the last municipal election, which is a long way towards running a full slate

Whereas . . The proposed changes in the structure of Metro-Toronto into even larger electoral areas, and are rapidly becoming beyond the scope of successful campaigns for individual candidates.

Whereas . . Municipal politics is the grass root level of meaningful politics to the average citizen.

Be-it-resolved . . That the T.& D.L.C. recruit and endorse a full slate of candidates to contest all the major elected posts in the coming Metropolitan municipal elections.

Be-it-further-resolved . . That the endorsed candidates run as a slate and that they publicly identify themselves as such.

Be-it-further-resolved . . That this Council and its affiliates promote a co-ordinated campaign and all funds raised be used to this effect -- for example, Mayoralty Board of Control headquarters and literature to be planned and distributed with aldermanic and board of education literature -- Reeve with Deputy Reeve and councillors, etc.

Be-it-further-resolved . . That this Council appropriate a sizeable sum of money to hire and co-ordinate sufficient help with the assistance of its affiliates to achieve success.

Be-it-finally-resolved . . That all candidates run as members of the New Democratic Party.

Motion to be forwarded to Toronto and District Labour Council
Metro New Democratic Party Council
and Provincial New Democratic Party

Passed March 29th., 1966 -- Regular membership meeting Local 112,
UAW-CLC.

IF ELECTED, HUGH DOWSON WILL ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE:

(Found in 1966)

1. A separate local union.
2. Equal distribution of the opportunity to work, emergency overtime throughout the job classification concerned, by a process of open book or posted lists.
3. The sharing of shift work according to the job classification concerned, with provisions to allow a choice of shifts for older and incapacitated members of our union.
4. Reinterpretation and application of the union officers' shift preference clause in the collective agreement to guarantee proper offshift representation, so that offshift members are fully represented.
5. The enforcing of up-to-date seniority lists postings as per collective agreement.
6. The mimeographing and releasing of all the letters of intent between the union and company to committeemen and stewards. Unknown to the general membership these modify our collective agreement.

VOTE

HUGH

DOWSON

SKILLED
TRADES

COMMITTEEMAN ZONE 11

(Found in 1966)

OPPOSE OUR UNION BECOMING
A MERE DUES — COLLECTION AGENCY!

Vote Hugh Dowson for Trustee

The UAW convention decision on the permanent dues increase becomes operative this month. The \$5.00 monthly dues assessment is now changed to 2 hours pay—\$5.20 ranging to \$6.88. The Local Union will receive an increased portion as part of this new assessment.

The main question for the membership of this Local Union is how this money is to be spent.

--NO BUSINESS UNIONISM. Let's reverse the policy that a large treasury is a substitute for an informed and militant membership.

--SPEND THE MONEY ON THE MEMBERSHIP. Let's launch a planned and well rounded program of sports, social and educational events to get this local on the move and get it into the hands of an active, informed and critical membership.

--DON'T SINK IT INTO REAL ESTATE. Let's not become the caretakers of halls and the keepers of books and files which are seldom used and the conveners of membership meetings that are seldom attended by rank and file members.

Vote DOWSON for Trustee.

Cross-Canada Mobilization Against the Genocidal War in Vietnam on March 26

END CANADIAN COMPLICITY! STOP THE WAR NOW! REMOVE U.S. TROOPS

By Art Young

TORONTO—A massive March on Ottawa from all points throughout Ontario to protest Canadian complicity in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam has been launched. On March 26, while Canadians demonstrate in Ottawa and in other cities across the country, hundreds of thousands of their co-thinkers will be demonstrating in all corners of the globe, particularly the United States. The Ottawa March will be the crest of numerous protest activities planned across the country; it could easily lead to the establishment of a new, broad, and effective anti-Vietnam war movement in this country. It is shaping up as the largest and most effective anti-war action held in this country since World War II.

The March was planned during the weekend of Feb. 19. The Conference on Canada's role in Vietnam unanimously decided to go all out for the March, and struck off a broad co-ordinating committee to begin immediate preparations. In a parallel action, the Ontario Young New Democrats' Convention also firmly committed itself to the March.

The Conference was an important step in organizing latent Canadian opposition to the war. An overflow crowd of almost 1,000 persons from all anti-war tendencies heard a series of prominent speakers condemn Canadian complicity in the war. Author Farley Mowat, in an eloquent "Declaration to the Canadian People" compared U.S. policy in Vietnam to Nazi genocide, and assailed Canadian support of this policy. Bert Herdridge, NDP M.P., called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and other military alliances with the U.S. which free American troops for use against the Vietnamese people. Amid long applause, he concluded with a call for solidarity with the Vietnamese, who, he said, were fighting for the right to determine their own destiny.

There were numerous other featured speakers: two ex-members of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission who shattered the myth of Canada's impartial role on that body, D. Latouche of UGEQ, bringing the Conference greetings from the Montreal demonstration of the previous evening, and Prof. J. Steele who documented the increasingly hypocritical Vietnam role played by the Canadian government since 1954.

But the highlight of the Conference was the afternoon workshops. As each workshop reported back to the plenary session, it became clear that those forces represented at the Conference were in a position to launch an effective March, and so begin to build a new and vital anti-war movement that could expose Ottawa's role and help end the war. The trade unionists present constituted a Labor Committee to End the Vietnam War, headed by the prominent labor leader, Gerry Gallagher. The Religious Action group similarly formed a committee to work against the war in its own field. Every workshop declared itself in favor of the March. Winding up its deliberations, the Conference unanimously passed a resolution condemning the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and denouncing Canadian complicity in the war. A widely representative March Co-ordinating Committee was struck (See Page 4 — MARCH 26)

ST. CATHARINES—A non-exclusionist committee to co-ordinate activities of all forces in this community opposed to the war in Vietnam has been set up. Representatives from two Autoworkers locals and their women's auxiliaries are playing a leading role in the committee, along with representatives from NDP and NDY clubs. The committee has raised \$500 so far and is sending at least three bus loads to join the Ottawa demonstration.

VANCOUVER — Over 75 delegates from a wide range of organizations participated in preparatory discussions for a mass demonstration on the 26th of March against the war in Vietnam. It was called by the University of British Columbia Vietnam Day Committee and held in the Vancouver Labor Temple.

It was agreed that the march route would be through downtown Vancouver and would culminate with a mass rally. Several well-known speakers, poets and folk singers will be invited to appear at the rally.

EDMONTON — Bus loads of unionists from Calgary will be among those who will be heading into Edmonton to make the March 26 demonstration against Canada's complicity in the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people by far the biggest protest ever seen here.

The demonstration, sponsored by the New Democratic Youth, will move through the downtown area from the city hall on to the legislature. A leaflet is being printed up for circulation to union locals and union activists. It is anticipated that NDP provincial leader Neil Reimer and Alberta

Federation of Labor President Murdoch, along with a representative of the Alberta Farmers' Union, will accept an invitation to speak. Ken Novakowski, president of the Alberta New Democratic Youth, will chair the meeting at the legislature.

Posters and other publicity material is being prepared. The two key slogans for the March will be "End Canadian Complicity" and "Self-Determination for Vietnam—Get the U.S. Troops Out Now."

LONDON—The recently organized Committee for Peace in Vietnam is planning to hold a conference over April 29-30 patterned along the line of the successful Toronto Conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam. Among the participants will be Labourer's Union leader Gerry Gallagher, chairman of the Labor Committee Against the War in Vietnam that came out of the Toronto Conference, and Archdeacon Boulton, and others. The committee, composed of representatives of campus groups, the clergy, the London Labor Council (CLC), the Young New Democrats, etc., is hiring buses to link its supporters with those leaving Toronto by train for Ottawa on March 26.

REGINA — A Vietnam Action Committee is being formed to organize an effective demonstration as possible here on March 26, the Day of International Protest Against the War in Vietnam. The call for the committee was issued by the New Democratic Youth provincial executive. All interested groups are being invited to sit on the committee. Among the projects being discussed is a proposal to press the provincial government to hold a debate in the Legislature on Vietnam.

Bringing Civilization to Vietnam



Like a group of sportsmen triumphantly bringing in their fall deer, troops of the U.S. 25th Infantry Division returning with the body of a soldier of the Vietnam National Liberation

Front draped over the hood of their jeep. The dead man was their "first kill" since they were shipped in to fight American imperialism's dirty war.

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 9 (117), March, 1966 Toronto — 10 Cents

Cost of Living & Taxes Hit All-time High, Profits Soar

Dividends are hitting a record height as the cost of living for Canadians zooms to an all-time peak and Vietnamese fall in agony and death.

The handful of corporations and individuals who hold concentrated ownership in industrials, mines and institutions, will receive a record 69 million dollars in dividends—an increase of more than 7% over last year and 46% more than February of 1964.

The food price squeeze and the housing costs gouge were the major factors that sent the consumers price index for January up 2/5ths of a point to a record 141.2. Based on 1949 consumers prices equalling 100—it went to 3.1 per cent higher than the year previous.

Only three days following the release of the facts on the effect of previous profiteering on the essentials that determine the living standards of the working people, two of the major Toronto bread companies declared that before another loaf of bread would move across the counter

two more cents would have to be forked out. Five days later the chairman of the Ontario Milk Marketing Board stated that milk will rise in most Ontario communities another one cent over the mid-January one and two cent increase, not before June, but certainly before the end of the year.

The Ontario Tory government, one of the first of the provincial governments to come out with its budget, thrust its hands deep down into the consumers' pockets to purloin another \$3 million dollars by jumping the sales tax, now at 3%, up to 5%—a 66% increase. It will be operative April 1 which has the merit of allowing business interests with reserves to complete deals before the deadline, but subsequently stack the tax increase, plus, onto their prices.

The government expects its increase in the tax on gasoline, tobacco and liquor to squeeze out another 36 million. Gas will go up to 45.9 cents a gallon—4 cents (See Page 4—TAX GOUGE)

Ontario Unionists Defy Anti-Labor Injunctions

By P. Kent

The Oshawa and Peterborough picket line battles against the crippling and smashing of unions through the use of court injunctions have shifted into the courts. 28 men, among them some of the top leaders of the trade union movement in Peterborough, will appear before the Toronto courts on March 7. They have been charged with contempt for their, and 400 other unionists and youthful supporters, defiance of a court injunction limiting picketing at a local plant to 12 persons.

The demonstration, which roused wide support across the country, had been limited by the Peterborough Labor Council's five-man injunction committee to local unionists only. The committee rejected the offer of Oshawa autoworkers to send in two bus loads. Its chairman advised the press that 35 had been assigned watchdog roles to keep other demonstrating unionists in line. As soon as the attorney-general laid formal charges the same committee, to the disappointment of many militants who considered it had no authority to do so, called off the demonstrators.

The Peterborough protest followed on the heels of the militant defiance of a court injunction two weeks earlier at Oshawa in front of the struck Oshawa Times.

There, when the sheriff read

an injunction to 1,000 supporters of the Toronto Newspaper Guild's Oshawa unit it was torn from his hands and ripped into pieces. He left to jeers and a barrage of snowballs.

Earlier the Oshawa labor council's president, noting that the whole labor movement has won respectability — warned "if we have to shed the cloak of respectability to win the fight for the Guild members, then we will have to do so." Ontario NDP leader Donald C. MacDonald not only put in an appearance on the picket line but spoke at a seminar sponsored by Local 222 UAW shortly after, where he said:

"Some of the most historic events in history are events that centered around people who defied the law because they became convinced that the law enshrined injustice. The United States of America was born in a revolution that defied the law because they were convinced that it represented injustice. The same can be said throughout the history of any free country."

Obviously Oshawa was the wrong place at the wrong time from the government's point of view.

Liberal leader Thompson challenged MacDonald with showing disregard of the law in joining the picket line. Attorney-General Wishart denounced those who

(See Page 2 — HIT)

#117 Mar. 1966

Canadian Committee Urges Castro To Reassess Charges

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has issued a statement on certain aspects of the closing portions of the speech made by Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro on January 15. Castro delivered the address in question at the closing session of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which was held in Havana.

The committee expressed concern about Castro's attack on the world socialist party, The Fourth International, and those who are known as Trotskyists, on the well-known American independent socialist journal *Monthly Review*, and its contributor Adolfo Gilly, *La Batalla*, organ of the Spanish Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), and other journals.

The statement said that FPCC was not concerned with defending "the Fourth International, Trotskyism or Trotskyists, real or alleged, in an academic sense." It stated that it assumed these various groups and papers would "respond to Castro's attack as they saw fit." What the committee stressed as its concern was "the integrity of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and persons associated with the Committee." "It goes without saying," it noted, "that the Committee would have to take actions if known 'mercenaries' or 'agents of imperialism' (as Castro designated the Trotskyists) were active in its ranks."

The statement pointed out that Fair Play "has been, and is, a broad non-exclusive organization. Membership has been open to all persons, regardless of political affiliation, who have shown interest in furthering the truth

about the Cuban Revolution."

It noted that the committee "has openly circulated publications of *Monthly Review* on Cuba. In particular, we are of the opinion, that the article by Adolfo Gilly *Inside the Cuban Revolution*, which was published by *Monthly Review* is a serious and worthwhile contribution to the literature of the Cuban Revolution."

"Five years of experience of the committee in Canada," it read, "has shown that persons who are known adherents of, or sympathizers of the organization in Canada known as Trotskyist, have been among the most active, energetic and enthusiastic defenders of the truth about the Cuban revolution . . . We have no evidence to sustain or justify the allegations of Prime Minister Castro regarding Trotskyists, Adolfo Gilly, or *Monthly Review*."

The committee expressed the opinion that "these charges by the most respected leader of the Revolution—charges which are not confirmed in any respect by our experience, but on the contrary are unacceptable to any serious political tendency on the North American continent—will make this task (the defense of the revolution) unnecessarily difficult and will impede its further development."

The statement, unanimously adopted by the Toronto executive, ended with the following words: "We call upon Prime Minister Castro to re-assess, and we are hopeful that he will repudiate his charges against proven defenders of the Cuban Revolution. We would urge Fidel Castro to reaffirm the previously stated principle that "the Revolution must be a school of unfettered thought."

Montreal Tied-up by Anti-



A study-in by some of the 25,000 students who struck Quebec's trade and technical schools for over a week when Quebec's Department of Education unilaterally extended the school term from June 4 to June 23. Education Minister Gerin-Lajoie threatened to cut off the \$10 a

month allowance paid to parents of 16 and 17 year old students, to suspend bursaries and student loans, and blamed activists connected with the separatist movement with trying to paralyze the government.

A Round-up of Recent Happenings of Interest

Over 460 Montrealers bought copies of the latest issue of *La Lutte Ouvriere* on February 18th. They bought it for fifteen cents as they marched along in the massive anti-Vietnam war demonstration or attended the public meeting that evening. This issue features a manifesto issued by the Second World Congress since Reunification of the Fourth International, calling on the workers of the world to aid in every possible way the Vietnamese revolution against American imperialism. The Fourth International is the world party of socialism founded by Leon Trotsky.

La Lutte Ouvriere's latest publication, *La Dialectique Actuelle de la Revolution Mondiale*, was enthusiastically received by the delegates to the congress of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec. Adopted at the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, it deals with the inter-relationship between the forces of the colonial revolution, persistently bursting through the nationalist stage onto the socialist stage of development, the struggles to establish socialist democracy in the workers states, and the forces for the socialist transformation of the advanced capitalist sectors of the world. It sells at 40 cents. The English version of this work is available under the title, *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*.

The classes held weekly at the headquarters of *La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere*, at 66 rue Guilbault O, Montreal, have been attracting many new faces.

The Vancouver Vanguard

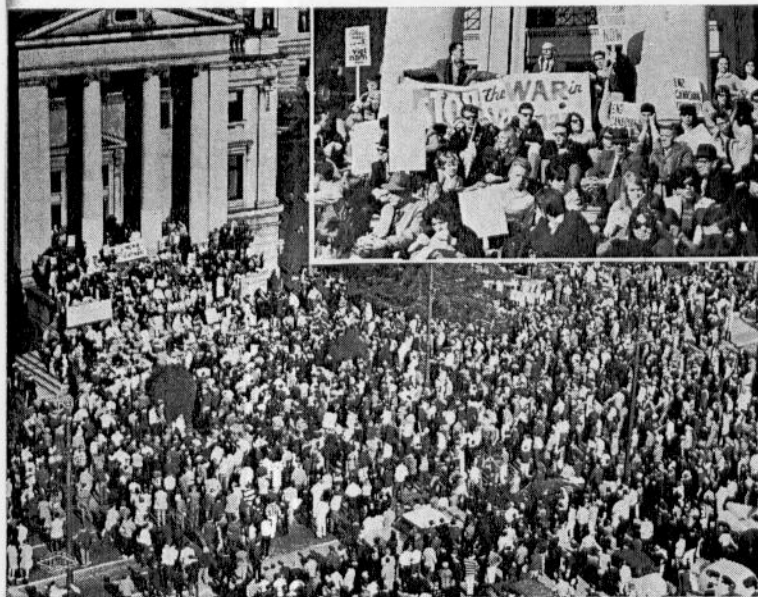
Forums, following the March 4th one on The Women Question, addressed by Ruth Bullock and Jean Rands, have been cancelled until March 25. The forums of March 11 and 18 that would normally be held at 1208 Granville Street have been called off in order to strengthen other meetings being held in the city, such as the one for Staughton Lynd, designed to build up the International Day of Protest Against the War in Vietnam.

The Toronto Socialist Educational Weekend, sponsored jointly by the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist Forum over the February 26-27 weekend, was very successful. Over 50 persons paid the registration fee of \$2 for adults or \$1.50 for students to attend the four sessions. Perhaps the highlight of the series was Harry Kopyto's contribution on the Struggle for Canadian Democracy in which he dramatically related to today's issues the revolutionary struggles led by MacKenzie and Papineau in 1837.

Having the experience of this weekend project, plans are already afoot to arrange another in the fall. The featured speaker will be the eminent Marxist scholar, George Novak.

The March 11 Vanguard Forum held at 1 Cumberland Street will deal with Indonesia in Crisis, and the March 18 with What's Ahead for Organized Labor. The March 25 forum has been cancelled so that its friends and supporters can participate in the social affair being organized by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam on the eve of the March on Ottawa.

Opposition to Vietnam War Rising from Coast to Coast



5,000 gathered in front of Vancouver Court House after marching through the city to hear speakers demand an end to Canadian complicity in the U.S. "dirty" war in Vietnam. Close-up shows Alex McDonald, deputy leader of the BC NDP, addressing the crowd.

By ART YOUNG

Across the country there is rising opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam and the Canadian government's abject complicity. Almost 10,000 Canadians marched on March 26, the International Day of Protest. In almost every major city of the country, there were marches, rallies, or meetings. They constitute the largest coordinated anti-war action ever to take place in Canada. They indicate the possibilities of breaking the Pearson government from its role as a servile supporter of Washington's Vietnam war, and no doubt served to strengthen the protest movement in the U.S. itself.

On the same day, the American protest movement took a giant step forward by staging demonstrations in over 100 cities from Los Angeles to New York; about 100,000 Americans took to the streets to manifest opposition to their government's aggression. This turnout far surpassed that of the first International Days of Protest; wider sectors of the population participated; the tone of the demonstrations, as shown in the slogans carried and the speeches made, were more militant than previously. The demand of immediate withdrawal of the GIs from Vietnam met an enthusiastic response.

The most inspiring demonstration was that of New York City, where a crowd estimated by the news media at between 50,000 and 100,000 participated. Donald Duncan, the "green beret" who is a veteran of 18 months in Vietnam, got a rousing ovation when he declared that he was "not against our soldiers in Vietnam. I am against our soldiers being in Vietnam."

Throughout the world, 30 countries participated. There were rallies and demonstrations in China, Australia, around the globe to Britain and France. It was clear that the overwhelming majority of the world's population stand in opposition to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

In Vancouver, the largest anti-war demonstration ever held in that city saw 5,000 persons march and rally against the war. The previous day, a University of British Columbia meeting had attracted 5,000 stud-

ents. Speakers at the city-wide rally, Prof. B. Willmott of UBC, Ray Burns, chairman of the BC Vietnam Day Committee, and Alex McDonald, deputy leader of the BC NDP, blasted the war and its Canadian government proponents.

A chartered train carried over 1200 Southern Ontario residents from Toronto to Ottawa, where they were joined by others from Montreal, Kingston, Peterborough, and Ottawa itself to swell into a powerful demonstration of 3,000. As the line of marchers, six blocks long, wound its way through the city's main business section, residents remarked on the largest demonstration held in the capital for thirty years. There were contingents from over a dozen cities as well as representatives of the marches in Edmonton, Vancouver, Calgary, and other major points.

(See page 4)

Anti-war Activists Establish Vietnam Group, Vancouver

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee was established as a membership organization at a meeting held to assess anti-Vietnam war activity following the large demonstration held here on March 26. The meeting, held March 31, was initiated by the U.B.C. Vietnam Committee. Members of this committee, as well as NDYers, NDPers, students from Vancouver City College, and Simon Fraser University, off-campus anti-war activists, and independents were present.

Membership in the new committee will be open to all those who oppose the U.S. war against Vietnam. The basic demands of the U.B.C. committee were adopted. Specifically, these call on the U.S. to stop bombing South Vietnam, stop bombing North Vietnam, and stop flights over mainland China. They also call for Withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and the Dismantling of U.S. military bases in South Vietnam.

A provisional steering committee made up of the U.B.C. club's steering committee, plus representatives

(See page 2)

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 10 (118), April, 1966

Toronto — 10 Cents

Teamsters Solid, 40-hr. Week Now

by P. KENT

The 8,500 Teamsters who have tied up Southern Ontario trucking went into their twelfth week of strike and made it unmistakably clear that they are prepared to stay out until they win major concessions from the trucking bosses.

"We want a 40 hour week and a 25 to 30 cent an hour pay increase NOW", said Toronto strike steering committee chairman Harry Paine to the press.

That is what the teamsters said thunderously and overwhelmingly

when they rejected the latest company offer on April 11 at mass meetings held in Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, London and Windsor. The vote went two to one against the offer — with only the Kingston local voting acceptance.

Not only was the vote against the company offer but it was a sharp repudiation of the leadership on three different levels, which had urged acceptance.

International President James Hoffa, in the person of Detroit business agent Roman McMaster, accompanied by other U.S. business agents, appeared before the Toronto teamsters meeting. When challenged from the floor "Are you here to help us, or help the companies," McMaster claimed that he urged neither acceptance or rejection of the proposals. He had earlier said that he had been sent in by Hoffa "to look into a situation which could get out of control," and he stressed that so far the strike had cost \$2 million.

As to be expected Toronto Local 938's official leadership urged acceptance. McDougall and his clique had been decisively repudiated by the ranks but were set back into office by Hoffa through the ruse of placing the local into trusteeship — under which it remains till this day. But former business agent Thibault and secretary Merritt, both of whom had played an opposition role to McDougall, failed to take a stand of forthright opposition to the offer. Ray Taggart, president of the Hamilton local and chairman of the joint bargaining committee, who had identified himself with Toronto militants in their struggle against McDougall, surprisingly campaigned over TV and through the press for acceptance. Taggart was brought up short not only by the ranks across the province but by the members of his own local who voted his recommendation down 777 to 367.

It was the strike steering committee of local 938, which has no legal status in the union but is in actuality the sole democratically elected body in the local, that carried the struggle against acceptance in the key Toronto local and into Hamilton.

Over the signature of several of its members the steering committee made known its opposition to the company offer. It urged rejection on the basis that the 40 hour work week would not go into effect for another 2 1/2 years. It ridiculed the wage offer as hardly more than making up the loss in wages due to the scaling down of hours — and the offer as a whole with being not substantially better than one that the ranks had decisively rejected last September.

The membership demonstrated their solid agreement with the strike steering committee and at the same time gave the committee authority to lead the strike forward to victory.

There is now discussion through the ranks as to the possibility of pulling other teamsters into the struggle who have continued to operate since they are covered by

(See page 2)

Action on Price Gouging Open the Books-Douglas

by THE EDITORS

Is it a bird? — a plane? No, it's the cost of living — read a headline over a recent daily newspaper article.

The consumers price index rose three tenths of a cent to a record 142.4 in March — due mainly to the hoist in food and clothing prices. Last March the index was 137.3. This is an increase of 3.7% for the year. And Finance Minister Sharp warned in his budget speech that we are heading into a massive 4% rise in prices this coming year.

The house of commons found time to discuss this matter under one of the four supply motions it has each year.

Pointing out that labor always finds its wages lagging behind the rising cost of living and that farmers are in a constant cost-price squeeze, NDP leader T. C. Douglas noted that as consumers we stand naked to the four winds of heaven, that we buy most of the things we need in a market where half a dozen large corporations are able to set the prices of the commodities the consumer wants. He made three proposals.

One proposal which we think of special value is that a prices review board be established. "Such a board," he said, "would be able to examine the books, the profit and loss statements, and the cost accounting material of the particular industry concerned, in order to find out whether or not increased wage costs and increased costs of raw materials warranted the increase which was being imposed on the public."

In backing up Douglas' proposal NDP MP Grace MacInnis stated that she thought that the consumers have now reached the point where "they want to see a board created before which manufacturers will have to appear to justify the increases they are proposing to make on items which are necessary for the households of this country."

When it came to the vote only one lone Tory supported the NDP proposition. It was attacked as "totalitarian" and "an infringement of free enterprise."

But why let the matter drop there? We agree that the working people of this country are prepared for such an investigation. Why then doesn't the NDP go about the process of initiating one? Why doesn't it go about encouraging the organization of consumers committees on prices?

It is true that such committees would not have legal authority, as would a government, to summon the manufacturers and merchandisers to appear before it — to compel them to justify intended price increases, to submit their profit and loss statements, to open their books for examination revealing the exorbitant salaries paid and special bonuses handed over to executives, their behind-the-scenes deals with financiers, etc.

But what government even armed with such powers has seen fit to utilize them? Take the combines investigation legislation, for instance. It is generally conceded that under such legislation — supposedly designed to restrict the growth of monopolies — that monopolies, combines and cartels have actually multiplied. The fines that the courts have imposed on various corporations for conspiracies to maintain fraudulent prices, to raise prices, to knock out possible competitors, etc., are admitted to be nothing but "licenses to practice."

(See page 3)

Alberta NDP Calls for Nationalization of CPR

by our Edmonton Correspondent
Edmonton, April 3 — The more than 700 delegates attending the fifth annual convention of the Alberta New Democratic Party here this weekend, defeated executive motions of non-concurrence and voted near-unanimous support for NDY-sponsored resolutions demanding federal government nationalization of the entire CPR complex, and progressive elimination of Canada's armed forces with implicit withdrawal from NATO and NORAD.

The convention also called for "an immediate end of the bombing of Vietnam", and "for the withdrawal of all foreign forces" from that country, and unanimously urged nationalization of the entire insurance industry.

These decisions marked the high points in the generally quiescent convention, which met amidst growing speculation that the provincial Social Credit government will soon call a snap election. No doubt with their own concepts of election strategy in mind, the party leadership had chosen as convention theme "Propriety in Government" — although how they can hope to outclass the Sacred combination of bible-punching fundamentalists and conservative big business "statesmen" like Premier E. C. Manning on the basis of a campaign for "morality and responsibility in government" is not altogether clear. Only occasionally did the debates on the convention floor break through the carefully-contrived atmosphere of officiality and decorum appropriate to such an austere theme.

Nevertheless, the convention provided an impressive indication of the party's growth and potential. The dramatic increase in membership in recent months to over 8,000, the hiring of three full-time organizers, and the growth of party organization in new areas of the province, all augur well for the future success of what has traditionally

been the weakest NDP provincial section in western Canada.

The new optimism in party ranks, based also on increased electoral support — particularly the Edson by-election of one year ago in which party leader Neil Reimer lost by only 80 votes — was expressed in the loud applause which greeted Reimer's unequivocal pledge that the party would make "no deals" with any old-line capitalist party, that the battle in Alberta was between the government and the NDP.

Quebec Debate

The convention concretized its desire for new members by defeating a motion to raise membership fees from \$3 to \$5. Provincial secretary Grant Notley pointed out that a similar increase in British Columbia had resulted in losses in membership which offset the increased revenue per member.

Most lively debate at the convention was over a youth resolution calling for recognition of Quebec's right "as an expression of a French-Canadian nation to self-determination." The resolutions committee once again moved non-concurrence. Defending the resolution, Alberta Federation of Labor vice-president Pat Lenihan related French-Canada's struggle for self-determination and socialism to his own battles as a youth in the Irish Republican Army.

Explaining the concept of self-determination, Lenihan declared: "It's not what we as individuals want . . . It's what the French-Canadians want, that counts. It's not for us to determine their demands; it doesn't even matter what their demands are." Nevertheless, the final version of the motion as amended by the committee, although magnanimously (as it were) "endorsing for Quebec the Two-Nation concept", predicated its own a prior condition: "... with-in Confederation".

A similar misunderstanding of the meaning of "self-determination" was manifested in the Vietnam resolution. Although "unequivocally" opposing "Canadian involvement of any material resources or personnel directed to the war effort in the Viet Nam conflict", the adopted motion adds a rider: "except under the auspices of the United Nations or Geneva Accords". It also calls for "the reconvening of the Geneva Conference." But for North American socialists to call for a big-power resolution of the Vietnam civil war constitutes blatant violation of the Vietnamese peoples' right to determine their own fate.

Role of Youth

Almost all the left-wing resolutions originated in the New Democratic Youth provincial executive. And it was around the youth delegates that a broad, amorphous and inchoate "left" formed at the convention. But, lacking an organized socialist caucus formation, the left-wing oriented NDY delegates' interventions on the convention floor were necessarily confined to sporadic and poorly prepared speeches on a few issues. The radical potential of

the mass of convention delegates — as attested by the number of important resolutions passed, despite the opposition of the resolutions committees — was not at all adequately realized.

As a result, the conscious right wing — which is always organized, at NDP conventions — was able several times to successfully outmaneuver their opposition; as when the party executive persuaded the delegates to unanimously postpone discussion on the youth resolution urging participation in municipal elections under the party label, to the next convention. And when a youth resolution opposing the clumsy and undemocratic "panel" system of convention debate was finally defeated by a majority of only 5 delegates, after four successive votes during which the party officials hastily steered their hide-bound supporters from the corridors into the hall, the sizeable contingent of youth delegates walked out of the session in protest. Throughout the convention, delegates were plagued with the awkward rules of procedure by now a fixture at NDP conventions, compounded by the unnecessarily arbitrary rulings of a bureaucratic chair.

This convention posed once again the potential and the need for a continuing socialist caucus within the NDP, in Alberta as elsewhere.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

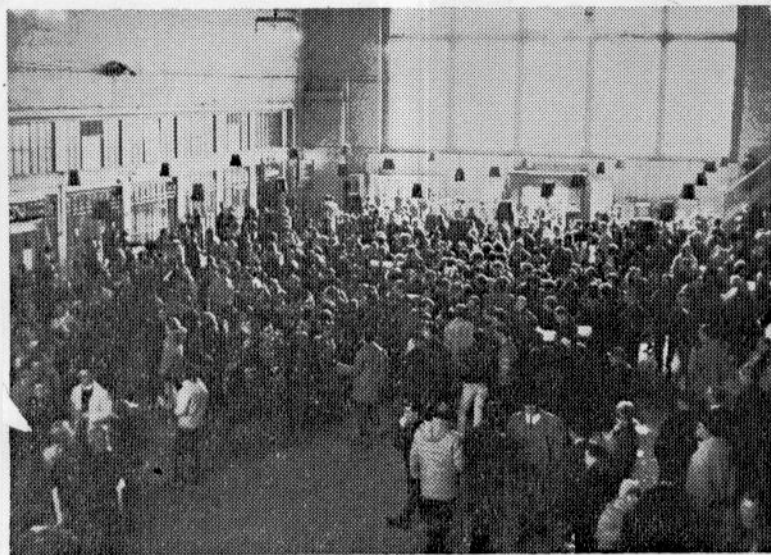
Workers Vanguard,
Box 476

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

OBJECTIVE SET AT \$5,000

Aid the Vanguard Drive



Some of the Toronto contingent flooding out of the Ottawa railway station to join demonstration on the house of commons on March 26.

In response to the mounting concern over the war against the Vietnamese people and the increasing interest in the socialist alternative to capitalism, the **Vanguard** is setting its sights higher in this year's annual financial drive. We are out for the highest amount yet — \$5,000 to assure the continued publication and expansion of our press.

The **Vanguard** has been enthusiastically received by the new forces coming onto the political arena — particularly the youth. We want it to be better received — to improve its appearance, to come out more often with supplements, etc. To do this we need the help of all those who are now readers.

The harsh facts are that the socialist viewpoint has only ever been expressed in this country on a strictly voluntary basis. Those who have taken on the responsibility to speak up against present injustices and on behalf of the future socialist society, to write for it, to prepare its literature and circulate it, to carry its views here there and everywhere — have had to have a broader group of volunteers behind them. They have had to have money. When they didn't have sufficient, their energies in all other areas were curtailed by the need to take on this task too.

Capitalism makes money out to be the most valuable thing of all; but actually it must be the smallest factor in the way of the life saving, world saving struggle for a socialist society.

Send in your contribution now to the **Vanguard** at 1 Cumberland Street, Toronto. Every contribution will add up to the winning of our \$5,000 objective.

May 2, 1966

Montreal

Dear Pat (Mitchell)

(Mike Milled.)

and a good May Day to you.

but just a few words;

Alan presented the LSC-LSA document at the last branch meeting. I thought that he did it well. In an indirect way he answered just as far as he was able to pose the viewpoint that he supposes to be Mike's. We had as lengthy a discussion as can be held outside of some kind of specially arranged program. I don't think that there was anything particularly notable.

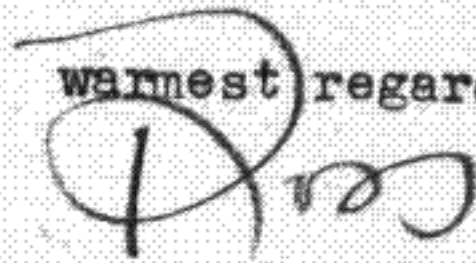
What I want to know right now is how is the discussion going to go ~~in~~ at what stage will it be at at the time of the convention. Is Mike going to give us a document expressing his rounded viewpoint ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Since it would seem that he will be unable to accept the PC document ~~and~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ it would be best that he present a document of his own. Then we can have the discussion and come to a formal decision. Then everyone would know where we stand or at what stage the discussion is.

If he does not present a document I fear that we are going to have a situation where he and various comrades who support him with undefined and vague views are going to be a continuing force of confusion for our work in Quebec. If Mike is unprepared to make any kind of contribution I think it would be valuable if a comrade such as Bob could be convinced to make a contribution, no matter how fragmentary or unpolished. This could have the effect of forcing Mike to intervene with something concrete either to buttress up Bob's contribution or to dissociate himself from it. In the former we would have much closer to a document on his views and in the latter case we would have a differentiation which may not be bad at all.

What do you think of encouraging Bob if it seems certain that Mike will not be submitting anything

How is the international document coming along?

warmest regards



Ross

Secretary: Bannon Present: Adair, Bannon, Emu Briar, Brock, Cotton, Kent, Lloyd.
Absent: Paul Fraternal: Bourhis, Nevack.

Convention Organization and Agenda:

m/c that Briar be reporter on the Trade Union document. m/c that Lloyd be reporter on constitutional amendments. m/c to separate general Quebec discussion from that on organizational relations and that the latter only be put to a vote. m/c to concur with the recommendation of the outgoing Political Committee that in the sessions dealing with Quebec all LSO members have voice and consultative vote. m/c that in the general Quebec discussion Bourhis and Brock each have a maximum of one hour for presentation of their documents. Mm m/c that in the discussion on organizational relations Kent and Bourhis be each allotted 20 minutes for presentations. m/c to recommend presidium consist of: Bourhis, Briar, Brown, Miller, Scott. m/c to recommend comrades JD and PQ be convention recording secretaries and also act as credentials committee. m/c to concur with recommendations of the outgoing PQ re election and functions of nominating commission. m/c to instruct nominating commission re recommendations of outgoing PQ re numbers of members on incoming national committee and distribution by area. M/c that the nominating commission bring down its list of nominations to the convention and that further nominations be made, if any, by the procedure of making a motion of addition. Discussion of motion from Vancouver branch re convention. m/c that outgoing national secretary address the convention on the question of this motion and that we uphold the authority of the convention.

The following topics and times were adopted to be presented as the recommended agenda of the convention: 1. Convention Organization - 1 hr. - reporter Kent; 2. International Report and vote on general line of International documents - 1 hr. - reporter Adair, 1 hr. additional for fraternal greetings; 3. NDP documents - 1 hr. presentation and 2 hrs. discussion - reporter Bannon; 4. Youth Report - 1hr. for Report and discussion - reporter Crandall. Above constitutes agenda for Saturday, May 21, convention to be convened at 10 a.m. Agenda for Sunday, May 22: to be convened 10 a.m. 5. Trade Union document - report 45 min., discussion 1 hr. 15 min. - reporter Briar; 6. Anti-War Report - report 15 min., discussion 1 hr. - reporter Brown; 7. Constitution Report - 1 hr. for report and discussion - reporter Lloyd; 8. Organizational Report - 1 hr. report and discussion - reporter Kent. m/c to recommend that panel discussions on Anti-War, South Africa defence work and Trade Unions be held Sunday evening. ~~xxxxxx~~ / Cuba defence work.
Agenda for Monday, May 23 - to be convened at 9 a.m.: 9. Quebec - general discussion - 1 hr. each for presentations by Bourhis and Brock, discussion 2 hr., to be followed by two twenty minute summaries; 10. LSA-LSO Relations - two presentations of twenty minutes each by Kent and Bourhis, 1 hr. discussion; 11. Elections. Projected convention would be adjourned at 8 p.m. and that incoming National Committee would meet at 8 p.m. (Note: above does not include times for breaks, etc. during course of convention.)

Constitution: Discussion. m/c to recommend withdrawal of para 4, section 4 of Article V. m/c to withdraw proposed section on political minorities. m/c that Article III, section 1 revert to original formulation except that words "program of" be replaced by "aims and purposes of".

Convention locations: m/c convention first day be held in outside facilities, location for remainder be left to presidium.

Alternates: m/c that alternates will generally have voice.

Convention Name: m/c name of convention be: "Convention of the Canadian Section of the Fourth International".

Procedures: m/c there be a time limit of 5 minutes per speaker and that we operate on the round system. m/c that in case of procedural disputes we have one speaker for a motion, one against, both limited to one minute of argumentation and then proceed to call the vote.

meeting adjourned: 11:50 p.m.

Political Committee Minutes, June 13, 1966.

Convened 8 :20 pm

Secretary: Bannon

Present: Benson, Crandall, Kent, Mack. On Leave: Brown, Conolly

Minutes of previous meeting postponed. Agenda adopted.

Finances: Kent reported progress to date re financing Strong full-time. M-C (motion carried) that we advance to Strong a lump sum comprising \$20 per week for the period of one year to this end.

Montreal: Kent gave a full report on the proceedings of the Montreal branch conference and it was decided that a summation of this report would be written and appended to these minutes. Kent reported the unanimous recommendation of the conference that the resignation of Bourhis from the movement be accepted. It was additionally reported that while statements made by Bourhis prior to the conference indicated a course of resignation, that when formally approached by members of the Central Committee, Bourhis requested an indefinite leave of absence. It was understood in the course of this discussion with Bourhis that this comrade would be politically inactive during the course of such a leave.

M-C that Bourhis be given an indefinite leave of absence subject to the conditions that he remain politically inactive during the course of such a leave and that the leave of absence is subject to review at any time. The above motion was passed in the context that Bourhis be relieve all posts previously held in the movement, e.g., editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière*. It was reported that the question of a recommendation of a comrade for editor of the paper was referred by the conference to the incoming executive committee. Kent also reported that the conference recommended com. B.S. to fill the vacancy on the Central Committee.

M-C that the PC endorses this recommendation and recommends its acceptance by the CC as a whole.

Ottawa: Kent reported a discussion with a leading comrade of the Ottawa youth local on the questioning of establishing a league branch there. Discussion.

M-C that Kent write Pederson proposing that the comrades consider a certain division of labor that would allocate leading comrades Pedersen, Jannson and K. to move in the direction of establishing a branch.

Peterboro: Kent reported discussion on question of possible colonization of Peterboro with youth comrade D.D. It was agreed that this comrade should be invited to come to Toronto for a fuller discussion in the very near future.

Personnel: General discussion of personnel needs of center and central office.

Meeting adjourned: 11:40 pm

Appendix to CC Minutes of June 13, 1966
REPORT OF THE MONTREAL CONFERENCE, June 11 and 12, 1966
(as stated above, given by R.D. Original with corrections by R.D. –ed.)

The Montreal conference (of the LSO, *Ligue Socialist Ouvrière* –ed.) demonstrated the solidity and the maturity of our forces there and was a clear affirmation that they are going to move out even more boldly in adding to their numbers, and in particular in the French-speaking sections of the Quebec working class.

This was clear from the very start when the branch executive unanimously recommended that the Central Committee of the Canadian section accept the resignation of M. Bourhis from the movement, from the CC, and thus from the Montreal Branch and that it confirm the new editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière* that the executive election at this conference would recommend.

Only five days before the conference at which he was scheduled to give three reports, Comrade Bourhis, after threatening that he would quit the movement if a vote on a secondary matter went against him, declared he was handing in his resignation from the movement. Thinking that this was only another of somewhat similar incidents, the executive subsequently sent two delegations to see him. In the course of these interviews Comrade Bourhis said that he would not participate in the conference and that he did not wish to be responsible to or for the movement.

Comrade Bourhis' defection faced the branch with a considerable challenge. He has held the post of organizer, he is the editor of *La Lutte*, he is on the executive of the PSQ (*Parti socialiste du Québec, a short-lived Montreal left coalition, an experiment in establishing a labor party* –ed.) and he is the only really developed comrade who is fluent in the French language. His conduct, which violates the most elementary principles of Bolshevism is all the more reprehensible not only in that he is the leading member in Montreal but he is a member of the central committee of the movement. His conduct in these respects should be above reproach and all the more exemplary in a relatively new and promising situation.

Comrade Kent (R.D.) suggested that some other formula should be sought that would make it less difficult for Bourhis to find his way back. A motion framed by a Montreal comrade that would censure Bourhis for his conduct, relieve him of his posts and place him in the status of a member on an indefinite leave of absence with a recommendation to the CC that he be relieved of his post as editor of *La Lutte* was apparently considered by the majority as tending to undercut the authority of the branch and leaving Bourhis open to possible illusions that he could establish some relationship with the movement other than through the Montreal branch.

The unanimous recommendation of the executive was adopted. The recommend reporters to replace Bourhis were agreed upon and the conference spent two solid days in discussions of the various aspects of its work, capping it off with elections of an

organizer, secretary, treasurer and a six-man executive, and a comrade to fill the vacancy left open on the CC by the convention.

It is our opinion that for the first time there was a frank exchange of views, a really critical estimation of work done and an open projection of ideas as to how to grapple with the problems and opportunities confronting the branch. Perhaps this was most notable in the report and discussion on the PSQ, the NDP, carried over onto the Labor Party question in Quebec. The latter discussion to some considerable extent revolved around the Brock submission to the convention however it was not adopted as it was felt that further discussion was desirable. The youth report was particularly notable – there will be serious consideration of forming a youth local there.

An average of twelve Montreal comrades attended the sessions. The attendance of the Trailblazers and six Toronto comrades was warmly appreciated by Montreal. From all the reports it was obvious that the branch has established good connections over the past years' work and that it is in gear to take advantage of all opportunities to strengthen the influence of Trotskyism in Quebec.

(end)

Cross Country With the NDP

Union Affiliation

596 local unions, with a total membership of 200,057, were affiliated to the NDP as of December 31, 1965.

Two-thirds of the affiliated locals were in Ontario and accounted for 164,275 of the total membership. Only 12 British Columbia locals, with a membership of 2,374, were affiliated. There were 41 Quebec affiliates with 9,236 members. The figures on B.C. affiliation to the NDP do not accurately reflect the scope of NDP influence there due to Socred legislation which severely restricts union participation.

The United Autoworkers accounted for 69,184, followed by the Steelworkers with 55,090, and the Packinghouse workers with 17,888.

Since December 31, 1965, there have been more affiliations. No sooner did the Steelworkers reaffirm their status as the bargaining agent for the employees of International Nickel in Sudbury than two meetings, by a decisive majority, voted 15,000 more affiliate members to the NDP.

Red Baiting

Rumors persist that the entire Ontario Young New Democrats is to be dissolved. Such a far-reaching action could not be taken without the support of the Ontario leadership of the party. It is doubtful that previous incidents that give substance to the rumors could have taken place without the adult leadership's approval.

On April 24 the Ontario youth executive suspended eight leading members of the YND from all elected posts and policy making bodies. The eight include the entire leadership of the highly successful campaign for political clubs in high schools and the leaders of the promising Students Against War in Vietnam. They were suspended without prior warning and with no

opportunity to defend themselves.

The youth executive's actions had no support amongst the youth itself. The charge that the eight had sold March 26 Ottawa train tickets of the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, rather than YND tickets, was so patently absurd and false that a Hamilton Seminar on NDY-NDP relations two weeks later decisively rejected the action. The executive was compelled to rescind the suspensions.

The red bogey looms large in the youth executive's violations of democracy. At the same time as it passed the suspension motion the executive passed another that makes grounds for disciplinary action the circulation of any literature of any organization thought to be subordinates or auxiliaries of the Trotskyists or Communists. The youth federal secretary also laid down that the youth are to have no program of their own, and any actions along policy decisions adopted by their councils or conventions that the adult leadership doesn't concur with would be considered breaches of discipline.

NDPers should be alert to defend the autonomy of the youth and democracy in its ranks.

Vietnam Petition

At last the leadership of the Ontario NDP, who admit "that there has been considerable agitation at the riding level" for action against the U.S. dirty war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity, have responded.

They have drawn up a petition addressed to, and to be presented, to the Prime Minister of Canada.

This will come as a surprise to members and supporters of the party, since, so far, only a sample copy of the petition has been received by constituency secretaries. And most of them will have filed it away and forgotten it as there has been no public announcement of the project from the provincial office. Not an MLA or MP has identified

himself with it, and not a word about it has appeared in the party's monthly, *The New Democrat*.

It is strictly a tokenist gesture—designed to take the edge off complaints that the party is doing nothing about a situation which party leader Douglas said "could escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth." This was how Douglas characterized Washington's aggression and the Liberal government's "servile subservience" in his one-shot attack in the Commons over a year ago now.

As for its contents—this petition is worse than worthless. It asks the Liberals to take a position that is essentially the craven position that they now hold on the war in Vietnam. Secondly, it is silent on the Canadian government's guilt in this war, its cover-up of U.S. aggression through its membership in the International Control Commission, and its merchandising of death-dealing equipment to the U.S. war machine.

The second clause motivating the petition is enough to turn the strongest stomach. "Because," it reads, we fear that the parties involved in the war are losing all sense of truth, justice and proportion."

This crude equation of Washington's horrendous aggression that violates truth and defames justice, with the freedom struggle of the popular forces headed by the National Liberation Front, fighting for survival against the most destructive forces that modern technology can devise and seeking to establish conditions that would permit the people of Vietnam to establish a society of their own choice, may of course have the opposite result than intended. The petition is so obviously false that it may rouse new opposition in party ranks.

It will be surprising if there is no protest against the *New Democrat's* latest handling of Vietnam. The title of the lengthy article is *The Vietnam War Game*. And it handles this crucial question just as the title reads—as if it were a game, a struggle of nerves, involving neither moral, social nor class questions in any way.

BC NDP TO CAMPAIGN FOR

Nationalization of BC Tel.

By ALLAN ENGLER

The provincial convention of the B.C. New Democratic Party voted to make the demand for public ownership of the B.C. Telephone Co. a major issue in the next provincial election campaign. Nationalization of B.C. Telephone is a popular demand in B.C. This giant is a subsidiary of General Telephone, a New York-based company with vast holdings around the world, including Dominican Telephone, one of the most powerful companies in that U.S. occupied country.

Although the NDP failed to go beyond telephones, to the more strategic forest industry, this demand should galvanize working class support in B.C. if given prominence in the election campaign. It could guarantee victory for the B.C. NDP, whose popularity has been rising as a result of the growing labor unrest in the province.

Nationalization is no bogey in B.C. Even Bennett's Socred government has been forced into nationalizing the B.C. Ferry System and B.C. Electric. Both of which have been obviously successful under public ownership.

During last year's strike wave, local unions and the Vancouver Labour Council demanded the nationalization of the brewing companies and the oil industry. The I.W.A. and the B.C. Federation of Labour at their conventions called for the nationalization of the forest industry.

B.C. has the only privately-owned telephone company in the four western provinces and has the highest telephone rates. B.C. Tel is limited by law to a 6.7% rate of profit. But its wholly-owned subsidiary, Lenkurt Electric, to which it contracts out maintenance and

repair work, has a profit rate of 12%.

Not only has Lenkurt been used as a smoke screen by which the "government-controlled" B.C. Tel can break the law controlling its profits, but Lenkurt is now being used as the spearhead for B.C. Big Business's anti-union campaign. Lenkurt has been carrying out a policy of harassment and intimidation against activists in the IBEW unit which has organized the plant. This campaign resulted in an "illegal" work stoppage after young women assembly-line workers quit work in protest. The walkout continued until 278 workers out of some 700 were in the streets. Lenkurt promptly fired all 278 of the employees. With the connivance of the IBEW Local president and the Canadian vice-president, Lenkurt "agreed" to rehire all but "30 or 40 troublemakers". Even those rehired would lose their seniority and would be put on probation for a year!

This took place a month after the NDP convention which was held in the middle of April. Unfortunately the NDP said nothing. Not even the union movement put the blame on B.C. Tel.

With the exception of the demand for nationalization of the telephones, the program finally adopted at the convention was no different from past programs. It was a smaller convention than last year, and membership in the province stands the same at between 5,000 and 6,000.

The 280 delegates took the convention and the prospects of winning the next election seriously. The atmosphere of witch-hunting, which filled the last convention, was absent. Lengthy debates took place on Viet-

nam and nationalization. Delegates were friendly to distributors of socialist literature. The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee reported that it sold \$50 worth of pamphlets at its literature table in the lobby of the hotel where the convention was held.

While provincial leader Strachan himself said, "there has been a change in the political climate of British Columbia this year as compared to last year," the leadership may still fail to take advantage of the rising working class militancy. The continuing anti-labor campaign of Big Business and its Socred government, coupled with a growing impatience for the good things of life the resources of the province could provide, creates an explosive situation in the province. A militant and simple class program could assure victory.

This could be done even with the present program. It would mean that nationalization of telephones, repeal of the anti-labor legislation, removal of the tax burden on private homes and its transfer onto the giant corporations whose profits have been phenomenal, and clear opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic would have to be given prominence.

In his presentation of the election issues, Strachan said that nationalization of B.C. Telephone would be made a prominent issue.

While the possibilities for victory are good for the NDP, it is becoming less and less of a movement. Constituency meetings have been poorly attended. The old clubs have been given no encouragement from the provincial office; little political education is done. The question of electoral machine versus political movement came up during the

debate on **The Democrat**, the party's provincial monthly. A sub-committee which had been assigned to report on the paper by the provincial executive last year, recommended that the paper be abandoned and replaced either by a mimeographed sheet or by two pages in the **Sask. Commonwealth**. After a lengthy debate in which some delegates attacked **The Democrat** as being "extravagant", "expensive", "colorless" and of "no educational value", it was finally almost unanimously agreed that **The Democrat** be kept. The debate did show that some elements in the leadership are intent on dropping all the features of a movement that the NDP still retains. But the delegates were overwhelmingly opposed. Delegate after delegate who supported the paper attacked its dullness and demanded that it print more controversial, more educational material.

The convention rejected demands for nationalization of the forest industry even after MLA Dave Barrett argued that if the NDP couldn't support this as a long-term objective it had little reason for existence.

Socialists did not get the support they did in the days of the CCF, but the Socialist Caucus slate got a slightly higher vote than last year despite fewer delegates. More important, spokesmen for the caucus were younger. They spoke more frequently and more forcefully than at the last convention.

#119 Jun 1966

FPCC Protests U.S. Threats at Cuba

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is alerting the Canadian people as to the dangers implicit in the provocative declarations against Cuba emanating from the U.S. State Department.

Its first action was a protest demonstration mounted in front of the U.S. Consulate-General in downtown Toronto on June 4. Some 70 supporters of the committee answered a hurried call to rally at the new city hall and march on the consulate with placards demanding the U.S. withdraw from the Guantanamo base that it retains on Cuban soil, and that it keep hands off the Cuban people. Adding color to the demonstration were two dramatic banners expressing solidarity with the Cuban people in the Spanish language displayed by supporters of the Portuguese and Spanish Canadian Democratic Associations.

The action of the Toronto chapter of Fair Play followed up the issuing of a statement by the committee in response to an emergency telegram that it received from the national committee of Young Communists of Cuba.

The telegram said that: "The false declaration of the U.S. State Department protesting the 'intrusion' of six Cuban soldiers into the Guantanamo base that the Americans occupy in Cuba in as treacherous and barefaced a lie as is their version of the assassination of the Cuban soldier which occurred on the 21st May. By the imperialists making these declarations, they prove they know nothing about our people and their determination to fight any and all forms of aggression. Far from permitting themselves to be terrorized by blackmail, threats, aggressions and nonsense, the Cuban people are preparing to combat imperialism unflinchingly. In case the feared attack occurs, we ask all partisans of freedom and democracy to protest the aggression and the use of Guantanamo as a base by the

U.S. armed forces against the will of the Cuban people.

"As of now, we are appealing for volunteers from all countries to fight fearlessly and courageously against the intended imperialist aggression in Cuba.

"Patria o muerte. Venceremos. (Fatherland or Death. We shall win.)"

In its press release that reproduced the telegram, the committee called upon all "who defend the right of small nations such as Cuba to determine their own forms of government undeterred by bigger powers such as the United States of America . . . (to be) prepared on an emergency basis to protest any further provocations by the U.S. State Department that threaten not only the lives of the entire people of Cuba but the peoples of the whole world with a nuclear disaster. It expresses its support of the idea that Canadians should be prepared, as they have been in the past, to volunteer their services in the defence of freedom anywhere—and in this case on the shores of Cuba. FPCC is preparing to act along the lines of the Cuban appeal."

A-80466

3920 St. Hubert

July 7, 1966

(Montreal)

(L50)

Dear Bob; as editor-Dear Pat as organizer

I hope you haven't forgotten to send me the NDP papers---I want to put the info in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Across Country with the NDP column--so I need them as soon as possible.

Got a letter from Dick dated July 2 to the effect that he hadn't heard from you re the election article. As soon as we get it back from the printers I will send you the copy as we finally cut it to fit the vanguard. Took the on-the-street interviews out and of course eliminated the French which had been translated into English. Rewrote a paragraph so it more clearly states why the PSQ campaign was not significant ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in the sense that it was a propagandistic campaign rather than what leaders and its program tried to present it as being an agitational campaign.

Got the minutes of June 19

I found it somewhat disturbing to see in the minutes a motion of censure against Wendy IF she does ^{Not} pay the remaining----- and equally so all the material noted in the minutes at the request of comrades. I can appreciate a certain bitterness amongst the comrades about having to clean up someone else's crap. But I can't see ~~it~~ it going into the minutes. From where I see it it suggests a sharp atmosphere of persecution--it could be understood as that---flying from a feeling that we have to put it down for the future, to educate certain amongst us as to the rotten character of so and so person so we will not be faced in the future with a situation where we might feel we have a weak case.

I thought we covered all that in the covering letter to the report of the conference. Incidentally Mike raised to my attention that part where it states that his relations will be determined to our--the CC's and PC's mutual satisfaction--not unilaterally. He went on to say that he had understood that he had resigned from the Montreal branch but was on a leave of absence from the CC. ~~xxxxxx~~ So you were right about some of your feelings. I told him that that was never anyone's understanding and at anyrate that it was not possible to have such a relation in a Bolshebik party. He left it at that after commenting that Pat had gone at him for the last few months. *Joe Chap*

I think that it is important that we do not play into any belief that certainly other persons than Mike might tend to believe that there is any malice in our relations. It is obvious to anyone who is carrying the ball in Montreal.

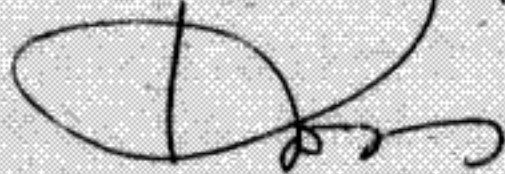
Claire grasped the opportunity to translate. She wanted me to check them but I told her to send them on and that you would check them to see that she did not miss the sense of the material. It is necessary to read them through--not hard and you need the practice.

Dick has sent an interesting article on the formation of the Alberta Socialist Caucus and expressing interest in my opinion as to whether you should consider carrying it in La Lutte. Possibly he is nervous

about raising the matter with you--then again it may be that I have the only copies. It seems to me to be well worth considering as there is a section where they discuss their attitude to Quebec --and of course we are interested in raising the matter of Quebec English worker unity--and in particular the matter of the NDP.

Why dont you send him a letter telling him what is going in the coming issue--outline it--and then ask him for his opinion--whether there may not be material more important than what you think.

fraternally

A stylized handwritten signature, possibly reading 'Ross', written in dark ink. It features a large, sweeping loop at the top and a smaller, more intricate flourish at the bottom.

Ross

Step-up Protest Against Vietnam War Aug. 6-9

Labor Mobilizing to Defend Rights

WHICH WAY-OSHAWA OR PETERBOROUGH?

By ROSS DOWSON

The sentence of five Peterborough unionists to six months in jail and another 21 to 15 days in jail for contempt of court in defying an injunction barring mass picketing at the Tilco Plastics plant has roused the entire labor movement. It has provoked an explosive reaction from sections of the leadership.

The fact that the Ontario Supreme Court Justice handed down not a fine, but a jail sentence; that among the victims were leading trade unionists including an international representative; together with the fact that this vindictive action was the payoff for a carefully worked out strategy of fighting injunctions in the courts, rather than on the picket line, no doubt heightened the leadership's response.

"This is a declaration of war by the Attorney-General against the labor movement. He's using the courts as an instrument of vindictiveness," exclaimed Donald Montgomery, president of the Toronto and District Labor Council. "It's just the beginning of a long fight."

The Gauntlet Has Been Thrown Down

"This is an act of madness," cried Canadian UAW Director George Burt. "Organized labor will hang this ruling around the neck of this government. The courts have got themselves into disrepute by this punitive action."

"Undoubtedly the learned judge fancied himself to be upholding and insisting upon the dignity of the courts. Instead he has heaped indignity upon them because in the eyes of the Canadian working man this ruling shows the courts to be an instrument of the Establishment ... The gauntlet has been thrown down and it will be picked up."

"Organized labor will now take on the injunction issue as it has never taken it on before. If this government thinks jail terms are the way to enforce injunctions," Burt cried, "it had better get a crash building program going on jails, because it is going to run out of space."

Murray Cotterill, national public relations director for the United Steelworkers, exclaimed that this action "will result in the most juicy, most violent labor demonstrations in history."

NDP MPP Fred Young, in his address to the Peterborough Labor Council, predicted an unprecedented upsurge in political activity throughout the trade union movement and among all people vitally concerned with justice. He foresaw Peterborough being the centre of a political storm which could sweep across the province to instal an NDP government at Queen's Park.

But now the tumult has ebbed and labor is faced with the responsibility of translating words into deeds. The labor brass have had their hour-long meeting with Premier Robarts who, while promising an injunction probe, utilized the occasion to firmly declare that his government's first concern is to uphold the existing law—including injunctions designed to smash strikes. A few days earlier a Supreme Court judge issued an injunction limiting a Machinists' picket line in Brantford to twelve.

The Executive Council of the CLC has decided to hold a legislative conference for September 27-28, which will include representatives of all provincial labor federations and spokesmen for each of the CLC's 110 affiliated unions. The announced purpose of the conference is to map out a campaign for the abolition of injunctions in industrial disputes.

Steel Projects False Course

There have been two policies projected before labor. The one course is that advocated in the statement of the leaders of the United Steelworkers, issued in the wake of Justice Gale's decision that the Tilco demonstrators were in contempt of court. The Steel leadership interpret the Gale decision to mean "that labor cannot prevent strike-breaking by means of mass demonstration," and urge that the emphasis now be shifted from a fight against injunctions to a struggle for legislation to ban strikebreaking.

The other was expressed by the Canadian Council of the Auto-workers on the heels of the sentence of the Tilco demonstrators to jail. The UAW council called on the OFL "to mount an all-out campaign against strikebreaking by the courts." It advocated the Oshawa way—organized mass defiance of this class legislation and its enforcement by class-biased courts—the way of civil disobedience.

When you boil the Steel leadership's policy down, it is one of trying to convince those now in power, through "responsible" conduct and clever legalistic argument that the laws of the class struggle should be suspended, even reversed—changed to outlaw the employers' use of strikebreakers in legal strikes. The Steel statement alternates between flattery—that "with few exceptions strikebreaking is no longer

(See page 3)

B.C. Unionists Urge Defiance Of Injunctions

By ALLAN ENGLER

Vancouver — The stirring words of labor's great battle cry: "Solidarity Forever" sung out by 235 union delegates, greeted 10 British Columbia local presidents of the International Longshoremen's Union (CLC-AFL-CIO) as they were being transferred from the city jail to serve three months in Oakalla Penitentiary.

(See page 4)

The Pearson government is silent, but the Canadian people dare not, and cannot be, in the face of the latest criminal actions of the U.S. government. For, with the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, Washington ripped off its flimsy pretences that escalation was a device to force negotiations. It is clear that with this foul act, Mr. Johnson has set the stage for an all-out war on the north, and eventually on China itself.

Mr. Pearson provided the parliamentary opposition a short opportunity to let off steam before a House attendance that never topped 40 members. But the NDP M.P.'s need not listen for the echo of their own voices in this empty and meaningless chamber. The people of Canada are not without means to express their opposition to this perilous situation that they are being dragged into.

These coming August 6-9 Days of International Protest can serve to answer the escalation of the war with an even mightier escalation of protest against the war. The militants

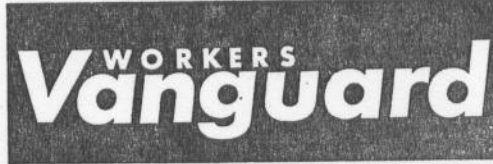
By THE EDITORS

who have carried the actions of protest until now must be supplemented by such numbers of the Canadian people as have never been seen before.

The August 6-9 Days of Protest are not only directed against the Liberals and their supporters, who have made Canada a party to the crime being committed in Vietnam—the Sorecs, and Mr. Diefenbaker who sought to even more clearly define his servility to Washington by cautioning Mr. Martin not to yield to demands that the U.S. get out of Vietnam. These days of protest are to express Canadian solidarity with the rising forces of opposition to Johnson's policies inside the United States itself, to express Canadian identity with those who have been given the historic task of playing a key role in ending the counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam.

The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam has called for a massive assembly of protest at the key border area of Niagara Falls—there it will fuse with anti-Vietnam war forces from Upper State New York. A parallel action is being carried out by B.C. forces in solidarity with Americans at the border town of Blaine, Washington. There will be demonstrations elsewhere across the country appropriate to the circumstances.

It is the responsibility of everyone to make the August 6-9 demonstrations a mighty and resounding success.



Vol. 10, No. 12 (120) July, 1966 12 Toronto — 10 Cents

LESSONS FOR THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

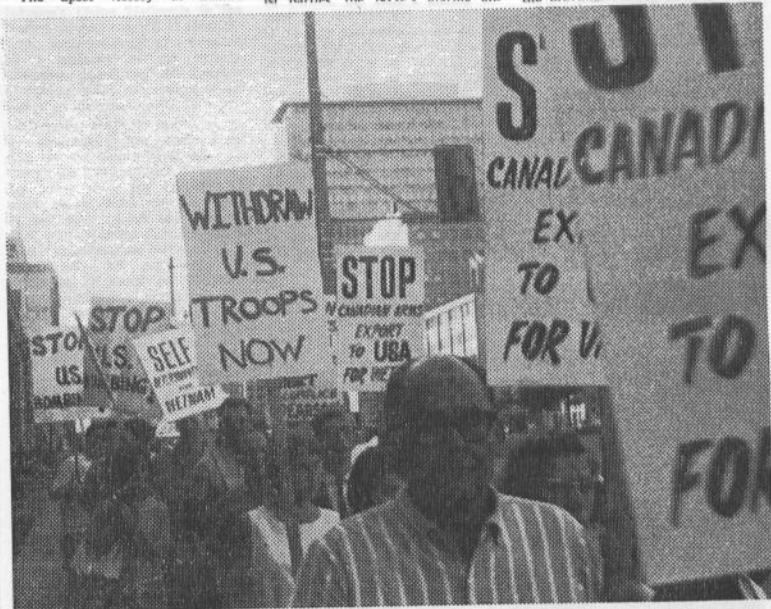
Quebec Election Upset

By DICK FIDLER

The upset victory of Daniel

seven months ago posed such an alternative to the traditional capitalist parties the NDP's glaring ab-

ist parties declined by over 11 per cent throughout the province from the previous election in 1963.



WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW! STOP CANADA'S ARMS EXPORTS TO U.S.A. FOR VIETNAM! These were among the slogans of a demonstration in front of the U.S. Consulate-General in Toronto, June 30. Some three hundred answered the emergency call issued by the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam to protest the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

A REPORT ON THE FORMATION AND PROGRAM

Alta. NDP Socialist Caucus

By R. FIDLER

Edmonton — The *Vanguard's* report of the Alberta NDP convention in April concluded that "this convention posed once again the potential and the need for a continuing socialist caucus within the NDP, in Alberta as elsewhere." With the formation this past month of the Alberta NDP Socialist Caucus, this "potential" was translated into reality.

First meeting of the Caucus was held here June 3, in response to a call sent by several NDPers to left-wing activists in the Edmonton area. It was attended by about 25. In addition to NDP and NDY activists, they included a number of dissidents from the Woodsworth - Irvine Socialist Fellowship who are disgruntled at the Fellowship's practical inactivity and degeneration over the past three years into a somewhat irrelevant parlor socialist or liberal discussion group bitterly hostile to the NDP mainly on account of its ties with the organized labor movement. Also present were a few members of the Communist party, particularly youth, who likewise are dissatisfied with the CP leadership's conception of the NDP as nothing more than a broad multi-class amorphous "anti-monopoly front"—a view which tends to reduce the rôle of the few CPers within the NDP to that of a mere appendage of and apologist for, the right wing leadership and its liberal prejudices and illusions.

Discussion at the meeting ranged far and wide. While several participants suggested that the source of the NDP's present conservatism lay in its dependence on the labor unions, the majority pointed to the party's essential working class character as signifying a major advance over the largely farmer and petty - bourgeois - dominated CCF. The chairman of the meeting, Prof. Colwyn Williamson, who has re-

cently been fired from his job in the University of Alberta Philosophy Department for, among other things, his outspoken attacks against the provincial Social Credit regime, pointed out "the fallacy of myopically equating the behavior and politics of the trade union bureaucrats with the entirely progressive class interests of the membership," and stressed the necessity of directing our socialist appeals over the heads of both NDP and labor brass directly to the ranks of the unions and party.

Alberta Labour editor Paul Quinlin emphasized by way of analogy that Harold Wilson and the British Labour Party leadership could not be considered authentic spokesmen for the labor movement, and cited as proof their Vietnam and incomes policies. Stan Gee pointed out that it was the working class membership of the NDP which kept the party alive despite repeated castrations of its program by the right wing. There was general agreement on the importance of socialists joining and working within the NDP.

With this understanding, the meeting voted unanimously to constitute the Alberta Socialist Caucus. A motion was passed making membership contingent on agreement to join or attempt to join the NDP — this last provision in order to allow anyone whom the NDP leadership considered *persona non grata* to continue nevertheless to participate in the work of the Caucus. A committee of five was struck off to draft a Statement of Principles.

At their second meeting, on June 21, Caucus members adopted a basic program and discussed the Manifesto draft. The adopted program calls for an NDP government to "withdraw from all military alliances, particularly NATO and NORAD", to "give active support to the national liberation struggle in Africa, Latin America and Asia," and to nation-

alize "all monopolies and foreign-owned industries . . . (and) all financial institutions," these industries "to be managed by the workers themselves through their own management committees." Among its "immediate demands," the Caucus program lists "establishment of a six-hour day and a thirty-hour week, without any reduction in take-home pay," and advocates an escalator clause in all union contracts to allow for "an automatic rise in wages, salaries and pensions in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods, over and above existing negotiated wage rates," with the cost of living to be determined not by government boards, but by "workers' committees set up by the trade unions' and farmers' organizations themselves."

French Canada

Some members questioned the section demanding "self-determination for the French - Canadian nation", because they mistakenly thought the words "up to and including separation from the Canadian confederation" in the draft implied support for separatism. Other members, however, pointed out that "self-determination" means precisely the full right of a people to determine their own status, with absolutely no conditions attached, and that for socialists in the oppressing English-Canadian nation to limit this right would constitute a violation of the most elementary democratic concepts. The section was ultimately adopted as amended on Adele Breckner's motion to read "not excluding separation . . ."

The draft's preamble containing a hard-hitting and straightforward exposition of the need for Socialism, and an explanation of why socialists should work within the NDP, was not adopted, but referred for further discussion to the next meeting to be held July 5th.

CAMPAIGNING THRU NORTHERN ONTARIO

With Sub Blank & Movie

By FRANCES ELLIOT

It is now more than a month since we left Toronto in our van for the 1966 Vanguard Tour. First, we went east through Oshawa and Peterborough to Montreal, then north and west through Kingston and Ottawa, selling subscriptions to the *Vanguard*, holding meetings with our film on the guerrilla struggle in Venezuela, and explaining the connection between that struggle and the more immediate aspect of the colonial peoples freedom struggle: Vietnam.

In most cases, the people we have been talking with, students, unionists, housewives, know very little about the war, except that it is wrong, and consequently, the pamphlet, **War and Revolution in Vietnam** has become a best-seller for us. We also find that the *Vanguard* is the paper most identified as opposed to the war. As one unionist in Sudbury pointed out, "I disagree with a lot of things in it, but I must say that your paper is doing a fine job on Vietnam."

After Ottawa, we headed north to Kirkland Lake and Rouyn-Noranda. Throughout northern Ontario, we have been struck by the riches of this country and by the enormous profits being made from them. The capitalists have used the workers to gain these profits — now that many of the mines are played out, the bosses are discarding the workers they no longer need, and the north-land is becoming dotted with ghost

towns. Even in the bigger, active mines, mechanization is eating into the work force.

Kirkland Lake seems to be dying as an industrial centre. There are only 900 organized workers there, and none at all in the remaining gold mines. Rouyn-Noranda stands in sharp contrast; its copper mines producing 70% of Canada's total copper output. Its prosperity, no doubt, is based on the use of its copper by the U.S. war machine.

Sudbury is a class-conscious town. Knocking on doors to sell subscriptions, we discovered that working-class men and women were interested in what we had to say, and those who were not workers were decisively opposed to anything labor.

This consciousness is largely due to the domination of Sudbury by the International Nickel Co., which employs nearly one quarter of the population. Everywhere in Sudbury, the plumes of smoke from INCO's furnaces dominate the scene, and the poisonous chemicals in the smoke have killed all vegetation and left the country black and barren for miles around.

But what has come to loom almost larger than INCO in every Sudbury worker's mind is the long and bitter dispute between the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union, and the United Steelworkers. Steel began raiding Mine-Mill to win certification at INCO many years ago, and finally won it last

year. The beatings, red-baiting, and vast quantities of vituperative literature have left their mark upon everybody, but most workers in both Mine-Mill and Steel are tired of the fighting and are aware that the division only serves the bosses.

It is to Steel's credit that they have financed and built the NDP in Sudbury, but the close identification of the NDP with the Steel faction (The NDP Nickelbelt organizer, Michael Lewis, is on the staff of Steel, as is the NDY Federal President, Terry Morley) has made many in Mine-Mill feel that they have no alternative but to vote Liberal, even when they recognize that the NDP is a labor party and that the Liberals are directly connected with the INCO and Falconbridge bosses.

The ever-present bitterness and division in the labor movement makes many feel that nothing can be done about Vietnam, although workers and staff members in both unions have serious misgivings about the war. However, our meeting drew several persons opposed to the war, who were not connected with either faction. There now is a good possibility of some action here on the August 6-9 International Days of Protest, as well as the establishment of a continuing Vietnam Committee.

As we move further West and closer to August 6 all four of us are looking forward to meeting other socialists and radical youth, and to helping build the largest Vietnam protest yet to occur.

Grant R. R. Workers' Demands!

NO FORCED ARBITRATION! NATIONALIZE THE CPR!

By THE EDITORS

The railway workers strike, which will surely paralyze the country, can easily be halted. All that need be done is grant the railway workers their demands. If the strike takes place the responsibility is clear. Not the railway workers—the Liberal government headed by Mr. Pearson is responsible.

The prime minister and his ministers have been trying to appear as mediators between the railway unions and the spokesmen of the CNR and CPR. This is the crudest of frauds.

While it is unfortunately under no control at all of broad, democratic organs of the people, the CNR is nationalized. The government, the cabinet, the capitalist state, has complete and absolute control over the CNR, and through that power, should it choose to exercise it, considerable control over the massive holdings of the CPR.

Both railroads from their origins have lived a completely parasitic existence. They were conceived in graft and loot from the public treasury and have continued to breed ever vaster holdings, a richer and more powerful hierarchy of highly-paid executives, and lusher dividends for a handful of bondholders, as they have fed voraciously on the blood of the Canadian people.

For years government ownership of the CNR has meant servicing the enormous debt imposed on the public treasury, and its utilization as an experimental guinea pig, a "loss leader" for the CPR moguls. Today the government is attempting to utilize the crisis that it itself has generated around the possible shutdown of the railroads to further its efforts on behalf of its Big Business bosses to impose restrictive, union-busting legislation on the entire Canadian labor movement.

It utilized its intervention in the Quebec dock workers strike only last month to impose compulsory arbitration of the question of the

(See page 3)

Lenkurt Battle a Challenge to All B.C. Unions

By A. ADAIR

28 trade unionists are presently being dragged into the courts for their militant actions on the picket line outside the struck Burnaby Lenkurt Electric last May.

All are charged with contempt of court by the attorney general because they ignored two Supreme Court injunctions banning picketing. Lawyer Thomas Berger argued that more people were identified than have been charged and therefore the 28 are being victimized. Administrative assistant to the president of Lenkurt Electric admitted that as many as 200 demonstrators had been "identified" during meetings at the company offices and that records were kept of the identification.

The following factors gave the strike national importance:

1. Most of the 258 workers were women.
2. Uniformed and non-uniformed RCMP officers used violence to get scabs through the picket lines, and acted as provocateurs.
3. When the local sheriff tried to read the contents of the injunction over a megaphone he was howled down. He then tried to stick copies under the arms of the demonstrators but the leaflets dropped to the ground and were trampled on in disgust.
4. Less than 100 workers got their jobs back due to a sweetheart agreement being signed by the temporary business agent and president Angus MacDonald.

Not only are the top brass of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers running before the bosses and their law courts by failing to mobilize other IBEW members (let alone other unionists) in actions of defiance against injunctions and to build the New Democratic Party as a viable alternative to the anti-labor Socreds. But in order to prove how sincere they are about co-operating with

(See page 2)

NDP Leader Joins Vietnam Protests

REGINA—"What we are talking about here is the future survival of mankind, and the destruction of all life on this planet. . . . At this critical hour of human history, silence is criminal." With these words T. C. Douglas, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, identified himself with all those opposing the war in Vietnam. Speaking to a rally here on Aug. 8, he called on all Canadians to voice their opposition to it, and said that NDP MPs and MLAs would do everything they could to build sentiment against the war and against the Canadian government's "supine subservience" to Washington.

The present U.S. policy of growing extension of the war, Douglas

said, points toward an attack on China, and with that attack the Soviet Union will be drawn into the conflict. The Third World War would then be upon us, a war which would destroy all life on this earth. The war is not caused by "aggression from North Vietnam" as the Americans claim. Rather it follows from the U.S. policy of encircling China, the puppet Saigon regimes which attempt to prevent popular democracy, and the determination of the Vietnamese people not to submit to foreign domination, explained Douglas.

"All the (Vietnamese) people are trying to do is to run their own affairs," he said. "There can be no peace in Vietnam unless we restore

to them what they have been fighting for for 1,000 years—the right to govern themselves."

Unfortunately, he failed to apply this principle correctly in advocating a solution to the war; he advocated a new Big Power Geneva conference to settle the war, called for elections policed by a U.N. army, and failed to demand Washington immediately withdraw its troops from the country it invaded. He also failed to score the Pearson government for its complicity in the U.S. war, talking instead in terms of its indecisiveness on the question.

With the participation of Woodrow Lloyd, Saskatchewan CCF leader, and Ron Thompson, vice-president of the Sask. NDP, the involvement of Canada's labor party in this action was clear to all. The protest marked a big success for the Vietnam Action Committee here, with over 1,000 persons attending during the four days.

Another speaker at the rally was Art Young a member of the Vanguard Cross-country tour. Outlining the grave and continuing escalation of the war, and the barbarous American methods of warfare against the population, Young stated that they show the anti-popular character of the war the U.S. is conducting. Young scored the Pearson government for running interference, for whitewashing Washington's efforts to crush the Vietnamese freedom struggle, and making Canada an arsenal for the U.S. murder-machine.

He wound up: "We millions across the globe who march today, representing the wishes and hopes of the vast majority of mankind, aim to end this war. We represent the working people of this world who have no interest in the slaughter of our Vietnamese brothers and sisters. We are determined to end this war, to force the total and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, to force an end to our government's complicity. And today we can see, around the world, demonstrating with us, the allies who will help us do it!"

Falls Solidarity With Ft. Hood 3

The thousands of U.S. tourists coming into Canada at Niagara Falls on August 6 were greeted by 700 to 800 Canadians from Toronto, Hamilton and St. Catharines expressing their opposition to Washington's murderous aggression against the people of Vietnam, and their solidarity with the protest movement that is rising amongst the people of United States. Pickets arrayed along the entrances to the Rainbow Bridge, as well as bridges at Queenston Heights and Fort Erie, greeted tourists with banners reading "Bring U.S. Troops Home Alive Now," "End Canadian Complicity." Leaflet distributors met a friendly reception.

Later, following an impressive and high-spirited "stroll" (called this because letter-of-the-law enforcing police would not allow a parade) that brought traffic to a crawl through downtown Niagara Falls, a rally was held in one of the city's school yards.

Highlight of the rally was an address by the brother of U.S. Army Private Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three. David Samas, James Johnson and Dennis Mora are three G.I.s who, opposed to the war in Vietnam, instituted legal pro-

(See page 2)

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 10, No. 13 (120) August, 1966

12 Toronto — 10 Cents

Que. Hospital Workers Win Against All Odds

By JEAN LaPLANTE

A stoppage by 35,000 of Quebec's hospital workers? Not probable! A Strike? Impossible! Should the impossible loom up there are court injunctions readily available that will start everyone scurrying back to work! There are special boards of conciliation, all kinds of devices up to and including, if necessary, compulsory arbitration!

That was the thinking, up until last month, of the medical hierarchy who rule Quebec's hospitals with an iron fist.

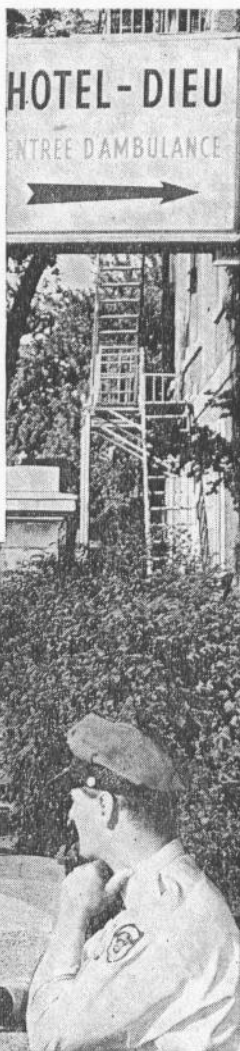
But that is all changed now. The impossible happened on July 15. On that day 32,500 hospital employees right across Quebec—non-medical and nursing employees—withdrawed their services. They struck. 139 of Quebec's 160 hospitals were affected.

Hospital officials, organized in the Quebec Hospital Association had plenty of warning. Negotiations had been going on for months. The strike vote was taken back on June 29. But instead of meeting the demands of the hospital workers, organized in the National Federation of Services, affiliated to the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, they took a whole series of counter actions.

The medical hierarchy commenced to ruthlessly limit admissions into the hospitals except what they declared to be emergency cases. They discharged thousands who they now pronounced did not require hospitalization. This varied, according to the institution, from 10% to 60% of the occupants.

The Association no longer beat the drums about the essential role

(See page 3)



CAMPAIGNING ACROSS THE PRAIRIES

With Sub Blank & Movie

By ART YOUNG

We have passed the 4,500-mile mark in our Toronto-Vancouver-Toronto journey, and are now leaving Saskatchewan. Our campaign has given us a real picture of the political development of Canadians. The Socialist tendency is still small, but it is clearly on the rise, it is growing, and faster than it has for decades. We have found that Vietnam is the key issue. The war has everyone talking—even relatively unpolitical people are concerned about its meaning and repercussions. The youth especially are being radicalized; most of the new young radicals are attracted to the New Democratic Youth and it is apparent that it could become a mass youth movement.

We have been impressed by the strength of the NDP across the country. It is solidly established in all the major centres and has the support of most militants. However, we have also seen that there has been a withering of the riding associations as arenas of political discussion and education. They have come to resemble more and more the Liberal-Tory election machines, mobilizing their efforts for the electoral campaign, and spending the time between campaigns preparing machinery for the next one. Discussion, the political armament of the movement, is regarded as a waste of precious time that could be used for building the electoral machines—as if a new social order can be built by a few “leaders” in high government office.

This evolution of the NDP seems not to have stopped rank and file workers from supporting it. These workers continue to work for it during election campaigns. If anything, NDP strength seems to be growing across the country.

The reasons for this are clear—the rise in labor militancy points out the class character of Canadian society. The struggle to defend labor's rights from the assault of the courts, and the increasing intervention of the government against labor, has shown greater numbers of workers the need for a pro-labor government, the need to elect a party of their own to power. So NDP support is increasing, despite the party's internal hardening, and despite its reluctance to clearly identify itself with broad class issues.

To continue the itinerary of the tour from the last issue of *Vanguard*: the last major Ontario stop-over was Fort William - Port Arthur. The NDP club there is perhaps the largest in the country, but it is very much an electoral machine. In contrast, there is an active, political NDY in the city which is open-minded and interested in socialist ideas. The club undertakes militant actions—it identifies with labor struggles in the cities, and carried two very successful Vietnam actions on March 26, involving over 250 persons. While we were with them, they were planning their Aug. 6 Vietnam protest.

In Winnipeg, we found the NDP very similar to the party in Toronto. It has made considerable gains in

the last provincial elections, is solidly rooted in the working-class areas of the city, and is publicly supported by the labor movement. At the Union Centre a big sign: “NDP On the Move” overlooks the main street. The Manitoba NDY is just forming, with 60 members concentrated in the Winnipeg area. We participated in a meeting of the NDY provincial executive which discussed their approach to the local Aug. 6 demonstration against the Vietnam war. This demonstration has been organized by a group of individuals in the city, and marks a big step forward for the protest movement; there have not been any prior Vietnam demonstrations.

Regina is the centre of Saskatchewan politics. We were there to participate in the Aug. 6-9 protest, and spent some time in the week prior to that date aiding the Vietnam Action Committee in building the action. The protest was quite successful, involving more than 1,000 different persons over the four days, and solidly linking the NDP with the international protest through the presence of T. C. Douglas and Woodrow Lloyd.

This tour is selling more literature than any other tour. Best seller is *War and Revolution in Vietnam*. Next are the pamphlets on Malcolm X. The rise in black radicalism, the call for “black power” has heightened interest in Malcolm's prophetic words. We are selling a lot of material on Trotsky and the Fourth International. We find growing interest in the concepts of revolutionary socialism.

ALTA. NDP SOCIALIST CAUCUS

In our July issue we carried a report from Edmonton on the formation of the Alberta New Democratic Party Socialist Caucus. At its June 21 meeting the caucus adopted a program which we reproduce in full below.

The solution to the problems facing the working people of Canada is to be found in the establishment of a true political and economic democracy whereby the basic means of production and distribution, and all our vast natural resources, shall be owned and controlled by the people of Canada. Hand in hand with this new approach to economic and political democracy should go a new approach to the problems of war and peace. With these basic principles as our guide, we propose the following socialist program for an NDP — workers and farmers — government:

1. Canadian withdrawal from all military alliances, particularly NATO and NORAD.
2. Active support of the national liberation struggle in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Consistent opposition to the attempts of American imperialism to crush revolutionary movements for national independence and social justice.
3. Self-determination for the French-Canadian nation, not excluding separation from the Canadian confederation.
4. Public ownership of all monopolies and foreign-owned industries, including the entire war-production and transport industries, and the planned development of secondary industries. The operation of those industries to be managed by the workers themselves through their own committees.
5. Public ownership of all financial institutions, including banks, and insurance and loan companies.

These five points represent some of the basic demands we make as socialists. But we also propose certain minimum steps which must be taken now in order to deal with immediate needs — demands which should be immediately adopted by the NDP, and which should provide a rallying point for all progressives. At the national level:

1. Planned development of important Canadian durable and non-durable manufacturing industries under public ownership.
2. To meet the challenge of auto-

mation, and place the burden of technological improvements on capital, not the workers, we propose:

- (a) establishment of a six-hour day and a thirty-hour week, without any reduction in take-home pay.
 - (b) in the face of inflationary rises in the cost of living, which rose 3.5% last year, and is expected by government spokesmen to rise 4.0% this year, far exceeding hard-won wage increases, the NDP must solidarize with the trade union militants' demand for an escalator clause in all collective agreements, allowing for an automatic rise in wages, salaries, and pensions, in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods, over and above existing negotiated wage rates.
 - (c) Calculation of the cost of living and of the correspondingly necessary wage levels is not to be left to government boards, which generally serve the employers' interests, but to workers' committees set up by the trade unions and farmers' organizations themselves.
3. In the context of the present working day and week, a minimum wage of \$1.75 per hour.
 4. Revision of the Unemployment Insurance Act to cover all workers and to provide adequate benefits covering the entire period of unemployment, and the general upward revision of insurance benefits to equal wages normally earned, at union rates of pay;
 5. Guarantee of jobs to young Canadians leaving school; and, failing this, extension of the Unemployment Insurance Act to provide coverage for this group.
 6. Legislation of a mandatory three-week holiday with pay after one year of employment.
 7. Unilateral disarmament for Canada.
 8. Universal free education, including technical-vocational, college and university. Provision of adequate maintenance allowances for those attending institutions of higher learning.
 9. Legislation precluding arbitrary political, racial, social, or economic discrimination, either

direct or indirect, against any individual or group. Repeal of any law which runs counter to this principle.

10. Mandatory public statements of economic situation, including percentage profit increases, of all firms, with provision for criminal prosecution in cases of evasion.

At the provincial level, the Alberta Socialist Caucus proposes that the NDP launch a systematic educational and propaganda program based on a total critique of Social Credit and Alberta under Social Credit rule. Furthermore, the program of the NDP in Alberta should present, in the most open way, the following demands:

1. Public ownership of the whole oil and gas industry as part of a planned economy.
2. Wage parity with British Columbia.
3. Abolition of all government boards which exercise arbitrary and irresponsible power.
4. Democratic reform of the whole electoral system, including thorough redistribution of the provincial electoral boundaries in order to give due representation to the urban population.
5. Legislation against all racial, political and economic discrimination in Alberta. Repeal of all segments of the law which run counter to this principle, particularly anti-labor law.
6. Legislation making it illegal for any provincial government official to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the freedom of expression of teachers and students in the schools and universities.

Unemployment, insecurity, attacks on welfare programs, limitations on freedom of expression, the continual risk of war — all of these injustices will be with us so long as we condone an economic system in which all the national resources, and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small minority.

We socialist members of the NDP say that no NDP government should rest content until we have eradicated capitalism and put into operation a program of socialized planning leading to the establishment of a socialist commonwealth. We appeal for the support of all Albertans prepared to work for this program and the future of humanity.

Sept 9/66

Dear Pat

Just to refresh your mind
— you are due in here ~~next~~
Weekend

Remind Bob!

Enclosed are just 3 pages of
an article by Dick which we
are trying to get out before
your arrival

fraternally
Ross

(trouvé dans 1966 - signé "Lénine" par R.D.)

"Les ouvriers de toutes les nationalités - et surtout ceux qui ne sont pas de nationalité russe - subissent en Russie un joug économique et politique tel qu'on n'en voit dans aucun autre pays (...). Plus cette servitude est lourde, et plus est grande la nécessité de l'union la plus étroite entre les prolétaires de différentes nationalités, faute de quoi une lutte victorieuse contre l'oppression serait impossible. Plus l'autocratie spoliatrice s'emploie à semer la discorde, la méfiance et la haine entre les nationalités qu'elle opprime (...). et plus nous social-démocrates devons travailler à fondre tous les partis social-démocrates isolés, appartenant à diverses nationalités, en un seul Parti ouvrier social-démocrate de Russie" (Mai-Juin 1905) (Oeuvres Complètes, tome 7, p 501, Paris-Moscou 1964)

Lénine

"C'est à tort que vous accusez nos résolutions (je les envoie imprimées) de n'être qu'"échappatoires et paparasseries". Non, ce n'est pas des échappatoires. Chez nous, même au Caucase, social-démocrates géorgiens et arméniens et tatars et russes ont travaillé ensemble, dans une seule organisation social-démocrate, pendant plus de dix ans. Ce n'est pas une phrase, c'est la solution prolétarienne de la question nationale. La seule solution. Il en a été ainsi à Riga également: russes et lettones et lithuaniens; seuls les séparatistes, le Bund, restaient en dehors. De même à Vilna." (lettre de Lénine à Gorki, écrite dans la deuxième quinzaine de février 1913) (Lénine, Oeuvres Complètes, tome 35, p 80, Paris-Moscou 1964)

Lénine
|

(Founded in 1966)

WORKERS Vanguard

special
west coast
supplement

VOTE N.D.P. _____ Sept. 12

Will the big business Social Credit Party continue to run B.C., or will we have an NDP government which represents working people? That is the issue in the Sept. 12 election.

Bennett called the election because, as he says, big business wants to have "stability" in B.C. What kind of stability do they want? Profits have never been higher than they are now. Not in decades has it been so difficult for trade unions to defend the interests of workers.

Big business "stability"

"Stability" for big business means more attacks on the rights of labor. We saw an example of what this "stability" will mean when over 100 workers at Lenkurt Electric permanently lost their jobs for striking to protest the company's reneging on a promise not to force overtime during contract negotiations. The courts and the police sided with the company to defeat the workers. The same thing happened when leaders of the Longshoremen's union were sent to jail for refusing to order their members to work on May 24--a statutory holiday!

This "stability" works only for big business. It protects its profits. The fire at Rayonier shows how much stability there is for workers under this system. Rayonier's \$10 million plant burned to the ground. The company is insured so will lose nothing. The 650 people working in the plant have no "insurance". After the fire the company blandly told them, "you'd be wise to take other jobs if you can get them." That's all. A day later they got

more magnanimous and said, "all those qualified" would be given other jobs someplace with the company. Big deal. Even if a man worked for the company 20 or 30 years, the company can still say he isn't qualified for another job and not hire him. Even those who get on somewhere else will do so with no seniority, and likely will be working out of town. They will either have to leave their families or sell their homes at a big loss.

In spite of the wealth of B.C., and the "boom", few workers really know whether their present jobs will even exist three or six months from now.

Instability for workers

Bennett's stability only protects big business. It means instability for workers. It means that even if the "boom" collapses and layoffs and cutbacks in production are necessary, business will continue making big profits. They will make their profits by chopping away at the standard of living workers now have. Big business wants another five years of Bennett so that they can be certain that if there is a recession more anti-labor laws will be passed so that workers will not be able to defend the gains they have now made let alone increase their standard of life.

The working people of B.C. can upset these plans. Big business was shaken-up by the popular support for the B.C. Federation of Labor's call for a general strike last fall. Carefully laid plans to break the trade union movement had to be shelved. If in this election, labor elects the NDP,

(continued over)

big business will suffer an even bigger setback.

Nationalize B.C. Tel.

The NDP stands for nationalization of BC Telephone. Public ownership of this monopoly would mean big business had lost a major center of power. It's assets of \$400 million make it second only to MacMillan Bloedel in the province. Officers of B.C. Tel are prominent in the "Commercial and Industrial Research Foundation" the coordinating center for the anti-union campaign in B.C. Lenkurt Electric, wholly owned sister company of B.C. Telephone, has played a key role in recent attempts to smash unionism here. Their nationalization under an NDP government would be an important victory for trade unionists and all workers in B.C.



BOB STRACHAN

Inflation

The Sun and the Province have done much shouting about inflation this summer. Inflation is a problem. But these papers are dead wrong when they say it is caused by wage increases. Even the Financial Post which is a voice of big business, points out that the total value of production in B.C. increased by 11.5% from 1964 to 1965. In the same period it says personal income in the province increased by 10.7%—less than the increase in production. So rising wages could not have caused inflation.

Profits

In the same period profits of B.C. Tel increased by 15%. Profits of Alcan—which owns Kitimat—went up 25%. Profits of COMINCO—which owns the smelters and mines at Trail and Kimberley—went up a fantastic 35% in the one year.

MacMillan Bloedel claimed a slight drop in profits, but that was only because that company was involved in a big expansion, which involved the buying or building of plants not only in B.C. and Sask., but in Alabama, Belgium, New Jersey, and Spain. Despite the claimed drop in profit the company still made a profit of \$41 million which works out to \$2,700 on each of its 15,000 workers.

Wages

The IWA wage increase which the daily press calls "inflationary" works out to \$400 a year per worker—a small fraction of MacMillan's profits per worker.

These aren't small companies or exceptions. They dominate the economy of B.C. Before the Sun attacks NDP leader Robert Strachan for supporting "inflationary" wage increases it should look at these facts.

The editor should read the special B.C. section his paper put out May 30. It says average weekly earnings increased 6.8% between 1964 and 1965. He should compare that with the profit figures just shown—or, for that matter, compare that with the Sun's own profits which went up 19%—three times as fast as wages—in the same period.

Fight inflation

Workers are concerned about inflation. It is working people who suffer most from the high cost of living. Workers should oppose the war in Vietnam which is the biggest cause of inflation. Workers should support the NDP demand for nationalization of B.C. Telephone. That would mean reductions in telephone rates. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have publicly-owned telephone systems. All three have considerably lower rates than B.C.

To fight inflation the NDP also demands
(continued on page 4)

Vietnam

The most important single issue facing the people of British Columbia and the people of the whole world is the war in Vietnam. It is one of the most barbaric military adventures in the history of mankind. A wealthy, powerful nation with the most advanced military equipment is deliberately destroying a poor people whose only defense is their heroic will to exist.

Immoral war

It is an immoral and an unjust war. The U.S. government and military is committing crimes against all mankind in its intervention in Vietnam. It is using gas, chemicals, napalm to destroy a whole people. It is systematically destroying crops, livestock, and in North Vietnam is destroying the industries that were built only through years of sacrifice. As it was with the Nazi barbarisms in the Second World War, it is the duty again of every nation, every man and woman to speak out against this aggression.

It is of direct concern during the election here in B.C. because if the US escalation is allowed to go on unchecked, the whole world will be embroiled in this war. Sooner or later, this war will spill over the boundaries of Vietnam and become the Third World War.

In another world war, no area of the globe will be safe from destruction. New bridges, superhighways, better parklands, would all be meaningless. So long as the threat of nuclear destruction hangs over us, no plan for the future makes much sense.

The war in Vietnam is an issue because the Canadian government and Canadian big-business have cynically supported Johnson's war against Vietnam. The Canadian government has used its position in the International Control Commission to cover up U.S. violation of treaties covering South East Asia. The Pearson government has used its diplomats, like Chester Ronning just

this June, to make phoney "peace" proposals, which they knew would be rejected, so that Johnson would have an excuse for further escalation of the war.

Business profits

Canadian big business quietly profits from the war. Canadian business has sold \$1 billion of military supplies to the US for use in Vietnam.

While big business profits, the cost of the war leads to inflation in both Canada and the U.S. Despite the war inspired "boom" layoffs and insecurity continue.

The people of B.C. must protest the war in Vietnam. It is a capitalist war which benefits only a tiny minority. It is a war of whites against a poor non-white people. It can only lead to increased bitterness between the world's colored majority and all whites.

The people of B.C. should align themselves with those hundreds of thousands of Americans who protest the war their government has forced their country into.

We would be doing a great service to mankind by electing a government prepared to oppose the Pearson government's complicity in this war. It would be a big step in breaking Canada from the U.S. war drive, a big step for the anti-war movement throughout the world, since Canada is the closest ally of the U.S.

Only the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam will allow self-determination and bring peace to that area. The U.S. will withdraw only when a powerful opposition is built to the war right in the U.S. itself.

Here in B.C. we can give such a movement inspiration by electing an anti-war provincial government.

publicly owned auto insurance scheme. here is no doubt that the present exorbitant rates could be greatly reduced if drivers did not also have to pay for the profits and advertising of dozens of private insurance companies, let alone the commissions of hundreds of sales agents.

In fact, the NDP is the only party which will do anything about inflation.

Repeal bills 42&43

The NDP is the only party which is committed to repeal the anti-labor bills 42 and 43, and to stop the use of ex parte injunctions in labor disputes. The repeal of these laws is essential if labor is going to protect itself from the big business onslaught.

It is true that big business would still dominate the economy and still have most of its political power even if the anti-labor laws were removed from the books and even if auto insurance and B.C. Tel. were nationalized. Big business will dominate the economy of B.C. at least so long as the forest industry is owned by private monopolies. The economy can be planned in the interests of the working people only when this industry is placed under public ownership. While the B.C. Federation of Labour has called for public ownership of the forest industry, the NDP has not. In spite of the serious deficiency in program the NDP is the only party which represents labor in this election.

The Social Credit Party is not so strong as the press tries to make out. The removal of five sitting MLA's from the list

Vanguard Forums
every friday night
8:00 P.M.
1208 Granville St.

of Social Credit's candidates points to serious divisions within Bennett's machine.

The NDP can win. It can win if it mobilizes working class support by pointing out the need to break the monopoly hold on the province.

A small increase in vote for the NDP can mean such a victory. Every worker who supports the NDP, and for that matter, every worker who sees the need for strong trade unions must work to ensure a big vote for the NDP September 12th.

T.C. DOUGLAS



**ON
VIETNAM**

"We in this party . . . don't believe that any country has the right to use military power to force dictatorial and discredited regimes upon people who are seeking the right to self-determination. We do not want some new form of colonialism masquerading as an anti-communist crusade." (to the House of Commons) —

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

The Workers Vanguard

1 CUMBERLAND STREET TORONTO 5, ONT

\$1.00 for 12 issues, \$2.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

Name

Address

September 27, 1966

ISR

Dear Tom; *(SWP, New York)*

I do not know whether it is too late for this information to be of any value, but here it is. About 40 copies of the large shipment of the latest issue contained scrambled pages. All the pages are there so it is not as bad as I first thought. We will unstaple the 40, re-organize and restaple. But it might be a good idea for someone to take the time to scan through some of the copies that you have left.

Here is how the pages read

140-153-154-155-156-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-141-142-143-144

comradely

Ross Dowson

Would you believe it--for our little paper we have had union label shops estimate all the way from 180 dollars per issue to \$600 per issue, most of them in the higher bracket and obviously using the label as a racket.

Leaders Happy, But NDP Misses Possibilities in B.C. Elections

By A. MILLER

The NDP failed to make the gains this election which should have been expected from the growing trade union militancy in the province.

The NDP won 16 seats, compared to 14 in the last legislature. The party's popular vote increased to 34% from 28%. At the same time Social Credit increased its popular vote to 45.5% from 41.

The NDP's lack of program, its lack of a class outlook, affected it throughout the province. The trade union militancy which was shown with the General Strike call last November, and shown this summer in the spontaneous strikes of woodworkers, the long carpenters' strike, and in the determination of B.C. railway workers, should have been translated into an NDP victory.

Workers have shown that they are willing to fight for a better deal in the province. Unfortunately the NDP didn't even tell them the election was a fight.

The party is on record for the repeal of anti-labor bills 42 and 43. But in the election leaflet put out by the provincial office, the party's pro-labor stand was blurred. It contained only one sentence on labor. It said, "End industrial strife by improving bargaining procedures."

Instead of calling for nationalization of B.C. Telephone and auto insurance and exposing the exorbitant profits big business makes here, leaflets called for "low cost automobile insurance" and "reduced telephone rates."

The NDP's main slogan was "Time for a Change." Social Credit's was, "Be sure, Vote Social Credit." NDP candidates pushed their "personalities" rather than issues, even more than in past campaigns.

In the two-member Vancouver Burrard riding, where the NDP won,

the campaign slogan was "two good men". The psychiatrist and lawyer running for the NDP, ran a typical old-party style campaign—exposing their families, shining teeth, and serious, furrowed brows. This was complemented by considerable glad-handing, much money, and editorial support from both the Conservative daily *Province* and the Liberal daily *Sun*. After his victory, NDP Dr. Ray Parkinson said, "We have discovered the secret for beating Bennett."

But using similar tactics the NDP failed to win the largely working class area of Richmond—part of the riding held federally by Bob Pritt. The NDP ran Bob McMath, a Richmond alderman. His campaign mobilized sections of the Richmond Board of Trade and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. One of his campaign leaflets said "Do you support free enterprise," on the cover, and on the inside said, "Bob McMath does." This was apparently a reply to Bennett's charge that the issue in the election was "Free enterprise vs. Socialism." The total vote in the riding dropped considerably and McMath ended up losing by 400 votes.

The lack of issues raised in the election was underlined by the fact that the total votes for all parties were down from 1963 despite a population growth.

The NDP won five new seats on the Lower Mainland but lost three, and possibly a fourth when the advance poll is counted for Nanaimo. Three of these four are solidly working class areas. The obvious explanation for these losses is the struggle between the Canadian Pulp and Paperworkers and the International Pulp and Sulphite workers. The trade union movement in these communities is seriously divided. The NDP, through its close identification with the trade union leadership, became involved in the struggle.

NDP leader Strachan supported the right of the workers at the Harmac plant near Nanaimo to have a referendum to determine which union would represent them. Pat O'Neal, former secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor and now Western Canada director of the International, denounced Strachan since it is obvious that the majority of the Harmac workers support the Canadian union.

But this was not enough to break the identification of the NDP with the trade union bureaucrats. Divisions in the union movement will hurt the NDP so long as it does not sink deep roots into the rank and file. Presently NDP support isn't acquired through a mobilized trade union membership, but rather is carried through the machines built up by the bureaucrats. Even Political Action Committees and Political Education Committees are dormant in B.C.

The NDP will be able to mobilize enthusiastic rank-and-file support only if it puts forward clear class demands and organizes a long-term socialist educational program in the unions.

Nationalization of the forest industry is an elementary demand which must be made if the workers are going to be politically mobilized. Both the B.C. Federation of Labour—over the objections of executive members—and the B.C. region of the IWA are on record favoring this. It is the key to a planned economy in B.C. It is decisive if the power of big business is to be broken in the province. It is intimately connected with issues such as pollution, conservation, and better parklands.

The demand for the nationalization of the forest industry poses the problem: workers' power or capitalist power. Trade unionists mobilized around such a demand would not stay home on election day. They would not allow episodic trade union divisions to cloud their support for the NDP.

The leadership of the party has so lost the zeal and strength which come from commitment to fundamental social change that they are

left trembling before the alleged might of Social Credit. Rather than aiming at overturning the Social Credit government, the NDP leadership took Bennett seriously when he said he would wipe out the opposition. Candidates didn't talk about the need for an NDP government, rather they talked about the need for a "democratic" opposition.

It was obvious to any sober analyst that the NDP could not help but increase its strength. The last federal election showed a growth in NDP support. Labor militancy is on the increase. Bennett's public statement that he called the election because big business wanted to be sure there would be five more years of "stability" in B.C., made it clear that the bourgeoisie was worrying about the growth of NDP support.

In the face of this and with the spectre of greatly increased unemployment in the immediate future, the NDP can still feel their showing was a victory.

Deputy leader Alex MacDonald said, "The premier was out for a landslide and he missed it . . . For us at this time, I feel the showing was marvelous."

Newly-elected NDP MLA Tom Berger said, "I think it is an absolutely first class result. The people have put Bennett in his place."

But Bennett is in power again.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
Box 476

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

PERU COURT SENTENCES

Peasant Hero Hugo Blanco

After three years in prison, three years of isolation and protest hunger-strikes, Hugo Blanco, famed Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader, stood before the military court that had just handed down a savage sentence of 25 years and defiantly stated: "Tacna has passed down its sentence. The people will soon hand down theirs. Tierra o Muerte!" (Land or death!)

His comrade and co-defendant, Pedro Candela, was given 22 years. Upon hearing the sentence Candela shouted "Viva la revolucion!" The other defendants echoed the cry "Tierra o muerte!" The audience responded with such fervor that the judge ordered the courtroom cleared. The judge had declared that some of the defendants although guilty were "illiterate and semi-civilized." Therefore he dismissed the charges against them. In the cases of 14 the judge held that they had already served sufficient time and he ordered their release. Three were condemned to serve two years in the penitentiary, one four years, and another three got five years.

Up until the final moment on September 8 it was feared that the military might carry out the plan they had reportedly envisaged—giving Hugo Blanco the death sentence. Evidently they reconsidered in view of the reaction that was visible even in the small town of Tacna where people lined up for admission into the large hall where the court was held and where the audience clearly favored the prisoners. Despite the fierce repression in Peru and all the efforts to railroad the trial through in a hurry it was clearly evident that nationwide sympathy for the prisoners was rapidly building up. Each day of the trial was featured in sensational headlines in the Lima press.

In Peru, where students and unionists were mobilizing support for the defendants, the reaction to the illegal trial and the long sentence was immediate. The Federation de Estudiantes de la Universidad Agraria placed an advertisement in the Lima daily *Expresso* September 11 demanding annulment of Blanco's sentence and petitioning parliament to throw



HUGO BLANCO

out the Military code which is being used to try political prisoners. A similar advertisement appeared two days later in the same paper under the sponsorship of the Federated Center of Law of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos making a similar appeal.

In addition, expressions of international sympathy were mounting (see box). If Hugo Blanco had been condemned to death these could have risen to a storm of protest. Evidently the military decided that it was better to give him a long sentence in the notorious dungeons of El Fronton. After the first flurry of protest, perhaps the military believes it can dispose of him in a quiet way.

Hugo Blanco was placed on the stand on September 6. He was questioned for two hours but very little of what he said concerning his political views and aims in the peasant struggle appeared in the biased Peruvian press. Among the reported highlights was his declaration that he was not going to "finger" anyone and that he assumed full personal responsibility for the death of three civil guards killed in a skirmish at the Pucyura police post and

at Mesacancha, the incidents which constituted the basis for the formal charge lodged against the defendants.

Blanco indignantly denied that he had committed any crime and said that he was guilty only of initiating an agrarian reform. "I am contented with everything I have done for the peasants and I can die now tranquilly."

At one point before the packed courtroom, Blanco levelled an accusing finger at the consulting judge who had demanded the death penalty; "If the death penalty is going to be applied against me," he said, "then don't let a guard be the one to have to fire the shot, but the auditor Fernandez—with his own hand." In face of the tumultuous response of the audience to Hugo Blanco's shouts of "Tierra o muerte!" the judge suspended the hearing.

Hugo Blanco is a legendary figure among the peasants of Peru. He was a student of agronomy at the University of La Plata in Argentina when his interest was aroused in Trotskyism. He left the university and became a worker in a meat packing plant at Berisso. Rapidly proving his capacities, he became one of the leaders of the Trotskyist wing of the Partido Socialista de la Revolucion Nacional. Returning to Peru he became a leader in a local of the building trades union in Lima and also of the Peruvian Trotskyist movement.

When Lima police sought to arrest him for his role in organizing the demonstration that greeted Vice-president Robert Nixon on his South American tour in 1958, Blanco went into hiding in his home town, Cuzco. At the time, the peasant movement was on the rise in the area.

Hugo Blanco became deeply involved in this movement. Besides the understanding of the class struggle gained from his study of Trotskyist theory and his experience in practical work in both Argentina and Lima, his native tongue was Quechua, the language still spoken by the Peruvian peasants since the time of the Incas.

In contrast to the lawyer members of the Communist party, who dom-

Rising Demand for Amnesty for Blanco and Associates

Demonstrations in both Vancouver and Ottawa demanding the release of the Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and his 27 associates were held on September 15 and 20.

Passerby in front of the downtown Vancouver Peruvian Consulate during the lunch hour were met by some 20 persons carrying placards protesting Blanco's imprisonment. They were handed a copy of an open letter addressed to the consul which sketched in the background of the case and in ringing tones warned of the dangers that Blanco might be murdered and called for the freedom of all the defendants.

The Ottawa demonstration, organized by an adhoc committee, saw 10 supporters brave the cold and rain to appear before the Peruvian Embassy with placards demanding Blanco's release. As a result of the publicity received in the local press there were several enquiries about aiding the campaign.

During the kangaroo court martial staged earlier in the month in the isolated town of Tacna a group of distinguished French intellectuals sent a protest to Peruvian President Belaunde Terry demanding Blanco's release. Among the signers of the appeal were Arthur Adamov, Jacques Prevert, Simone Signoret, Daniel Guerin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, etc. Jacques Lanzman signed for the editorial board of **Temps Modernes**, Eric Losfeld for **Positif**, Francois Maspere for **Partisans**, and the now deceased Andre Breton, and Jean Schuster for the Surrealist Group.

About the same time almost 400 participants in the Second Socialist Scholars Conference in New York signed a petition to the Peruvian President urging amnesty for Blanco and the 27. Among the signers were Conor Cruise O'Brien, Isaac Deutscher, Paul Booth of SDS, Herbert Aptheker of the CP, Paul Sweezy of **Monthly Review**, Joseph Hansen of **The Militant**, Lew Jones of the YSA, Prof. Andres Gunder Frank of Sir George Williams University, Montreal, etc.

powerful peasant unions that would engage in mass actions, particularly around the land question, under the guidance of a revolutionary socialist party.

This program did not deny the role of armed struggle, but visualized this, including the formation of guerrillas, as subordinate to the problem of organizing a revolutionary party and mobilizing the peasants and workers on a mass scale.

Under the leadership of Hugo Blanco, the peasants of the valley of La Convencion registered huge successes. Two factors, however, prevented this movement from moving ahead to the conquest of power. One was the loss of militancy among those peasants who actually won plots of land. The other was the wide dissemination of a superficial appreciation of the Cuban Revolution. To many revolutionary-minded youth it appeared that a revolution could be won by merely constituting a small band of guerrillas willing to

engage in heroic battles with the armed forces. What was lost sight of was the need to become immersed in mass work. Isolated battles were not sufficient to set mass forces into motion.

The Peruvian armed forces found it extremely difficult to capture Hugo Blanco due to his close ties with the peasants. It was only when he had to enter Cuzco in desperate need of medical help that they finally got their hands on the 28-year-old leader. He was charged with "responsibility" for the death of "five rural policemen" killed during skirmishes with land-hungry peasants, of "subversion" and "armed attack" and similar alleged crimes.

In widespread actions against the peasants at the time, the armed forces also arrested hundreds of others. Some thirty of the outstanding leaders were held in prison for three years until this mockery of a trial with its savage sentences.

#122-Sept. 1966

p.2

inated the main peasant organization and spoke only Spanish, Blanco became the first leader of Federacion Campesina del Cuzco who could speak to the membership in their own language. He became a powerful exponent of the right of the peasants to preserve and to develop their own language and to use it in all matters relating to governmental and civic affairs.

In opposition to the Communist leaders, who were tied to a Stalinist background and who sought to confine the peasant struggle to merely legal means and court battles, Hugo Blanco advanced a program of mass struggle. The objective was to form

Radio Habana Scores Sentencing of Blanco

The English language Radio Habana news broadcast of October 3 commented on the 25 year jail sentence the Peruvian court handed down on the noted peasant leader Huga Blanco. It scored the Belaunde Terry government for trying to intimidate others by making an example of Blanco, who it said had been organizing the peasants along revolutionary lines.

The same broadcast carried portions of a news release on the September 29 fire bombing of the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. It quoted Judy White, SWP gubernatorial candidate, to the effect that the bombing, which gutted one office, was part of the general climate in the U.S. that is being given continual impetus by the Johnson administration's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

THE BOOKSHELF

THE ORIGINS OF MATERIALISM by George Novack, published by Merit of New York and obtainable through the Vanguard Bookstores at 824 Yonge Street in Toronto and 1208 Granville in Vancouver. Cloth—\$6.95; Paperback—to be announced.

The essential conflict in all philosophical debate throughout history has been that of materialism versus idealism. All philosophic systems tend toward one or other of these two poles of thought. **The Origins Of Materialism** provides the lay reader with a well-balanced introduction to the growth and development of the materialist philosophy in ancient times. At the same time, it demonstrates the historical conflict of materialism with its philosophical opposite, idealism.

It should be explained that the term "materialism" is not used here with the popular meaning of devotion to crass and greedy appetites. Rather, materialism in the philosophical sense consists in the belief that matter—material substance—is the essence of reality, that matter produces mind, and that mind cannot exist apart from matter. Similarly, philosophical idealism does not mean the devotion to great ideals, but a belief that mind or spirit, not matter, is the basic element of reality, that mind generates material things, and that mind or spirit exists before and apart from matter.

The irreconcilability of materialism and idealism can readily be seen. Yet this fundamental and basically simple crux of philosophy has been carefully hidden and ignored by the obscurantists of our universities. In their slavish devotion to the preservation of the capitalist system, our universities try to cover up the philosophy of materialism and its historical origins, feeding their students instead a mixture of various idealist philosophies as being representative of the philosophical spectrum. The universities, as institutions dependent upon—indeed, controlled by—the ruling class in society, are very careful not to put anything in the hands of their students with such revolutionary potential as the philosophy of materialism.

And so it has been throughout history: idealism, and philosophical systems tending towards idealism,

have nearly always monopolized the philosophical limelight. Idealism has been carefully nurtured and strengthened by ruling classes ever since ancient slavery, while materialism has been suppressed and persecuted.

Why is materialism so revolutionary? Why do ruling classes still feel they must cover it up?

George Novack shows in his book how the raw materials for the materialist outlook are lodged primarily in the collective actions of human beings, and the results of these actions. Materialism thus derives its meaning from its inseparable connections with the habitual practices of every member of the human race. Consequently, the sociological, political, and economic implications of materialism are very strong. As a way of looking at history and society in a manner free of mystical conceptions of gods and spirits, materialism derives its revolutionary potential: for under the penetrating eye of historical materialism society is stripped of all the phony disguises and mystical veils its masters have clothed it in, and stands naked, in its true form, before the oppressed peoples of the world.

"Materialism is disfavored not only because it is the principal theoretical weapon against supernaturalism, spiritualism and obscurantism of all kinds. It is so vehemently fought nowadays because the materialist philosophy has become so closely associated with the Socialist movement and Marxism, with the struggles of the workers for liberation from capitalism, with political opposition to the established order . . . (The) defenders of religion and capitalism regard materialism as the main ideological enemy to be overcome . . ." (quoted from the Foreword).

The Origins Of Materialism shines like a beacon in the fog of modern philosophical writing. The only comprehensive account of materialism in the English language, as

Novack points out, is the **History of Materialism**, published in 1865, and written by a semi-idealist. **Origins** represents the first attempt by a materialist to explain the origins of his own philosophy.

Materialism was the first form of philosophic thought to develop in the western world. It was born in the commercially prosperous Greek cities of Ionia, particularly Miletus. The early merchant class had a strong material interest in mathematics, astronomy, meteorology, and geography, for these were valuable to trade and navigation. The growth of science expanded the range of men's thinking, and the growth of trade forced men to develop mathematics, and with that, abstract thinking. Thus philosophy was born.

The introduction of alphabetic writing (an indirect result of trade voyages) gave rise to the study of rhetoric and grammar, which necessarily led to the study of logic. All these new branches of knowledge developed and assisted each other, while giving rise to new fields of thought. The transcendence of tribal magic and religion by technology created a spirit of scientific speculation and enquiry which fostered early materialism.

The battle for supremacy between materialism and idealism rages on. **The Origins Of Materialism** is essential reading for all who would understand this struggle. To the student fed up with the obscurantism of his teachers and textbooks, and to the young worker disillusioned with the hollow mysticism of the Church and the capitalist politicians, the philosophy of materialism, the most powerful weapon of the world's working class, offers both the analysis and the strategy by which the battle is waged for the elimination of the capitalist system.

The better understood materialism is, the better it will be applied to today's reality and political struggle, and the better it will be defended against the philosophies and ideologies of the ruling class.

by J. CURRENT

Other writings of importance by George Novack:

Who Will Change the World?

A YSF Publication 50

The Long View of History 35

Moscow vs. Peking—the meaning of the Great Debate 50

Existentialism vs. Marxism 3.45

Mobilize To Fight Jailing Of Unionists

The jailing of four local labor leaders for alleged "criminal contempt of court" puts the cards squarely on the table before every worker right across the country. The bosses have made their case crystal clear. Through their Socred, Liberal, and Tory mouth-pieces in Ottawa and Victoria, they intend to cripple the unions. Through labor-hating, big business judges like Mr. Justice James MacDonald they hope to "teach the unions a lesson," to "tame" them. The companies want to enforce speed ups, lay offs and a wage freeze while workers meekly submit, or at the most, argue their case out in court!

6-pts. inadequate

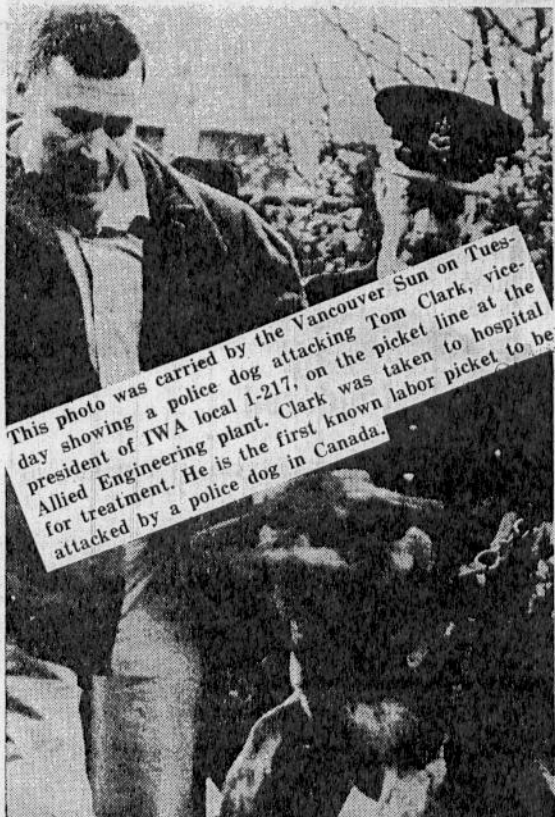
To meet this offensive the executive of the Vancouver Labor Council have proposed a six point program of action (printed elsewhere in this supplement). While no one would disagree with any of the 6 points -- as a program they are completely inadequate. They are no different from the old policy of the BC Federation of Labor which has allowed the big business governments in BC to get away with bills 42 and 43 and to extend the use of ex parte injunctions to the point where strikes are virtually illegal in B.C. The anti-labor drive can only be stopped if the full power of the workers is utilized. This must include the trade unions' ultimate weapon--its economic power--the strike weapon.

The spirit of Tom Clarke's statement should be a guide to the labor movement. His unashamed militancy shows he is responsible first and foremost to the working class and not to employers or their courts.

Paddy Neale, secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council, Tom Clarke of the IWA, Art O'Keefe of the IBEW and Jeff Power of the Boilermakers will spend from 3 to 6 months in jail because they refused to accept injunctions handed out during the Lenkurt strike. 15 others involved in the

TOM CLARK

1962



This photo was carried by the Vancouver Sun on Tuesday showing a police dog attacking Tom Clarke, vice-president of IWA local 1-217, on the picket line at the Allied Engineering plant. Clark was taken to hospital for treatment. He is the first known labor picket to be attacked by a police dog in Canada.

How much more should labor take?

(p.2)

Clarke's Stand

Sentenced to six months in prison Tom Clarke, vice president of Local 1-217, IWA, dissociated himself from the statements of defence lawyers Berger and Laxton made on behalf of 21 other trade unionists found guilty of criminal contempt of court September 19.

Clarke took part in the Lenkurt demonstrations last May with full knowledge of what was involved; acting on the principle "an injury to one is an injury to all." He was roughed up by RCMP officers.

One of a family of eight, he started work in an unorganized plywood plant when he was 16 years old.

His statement reads as follows:

....."I joined the union to which I presently belong on my return from overseas service in December of 1945. From that day on, I participated actively in the functions of that union.

"I felt then as I feel now that the only way I could maintain my dignity and better my lot in life was through joint co-operation with my fellow workers in the plant where I was employed and through cooperation and support of the whole trade union movement, not only in British Columbia and Canada, but throughout the world. I have worked diligently to achieve this co-operation.

Not Intimidated

"I am not a criminal living by nefarious means, but a citizen with full respect for the law and my country. But I will not be intimidated by courts or court action or people of your ilk when, in my opinion, I am morally right. Nor will I stand idly by and watch my fellow workers and trade unionists be treated in a like manner.

"It has always been a basic premise of the trade union movement that an injury to one is an injury to all and when the one is injured, it behooves the all to come to his assistance. This I will do.

6pts - no solution

To fight the jailings of trade unionists, the Vancouver Labor Council has proposed action along these lines:

1. Launching of an immediate appeal against the convictions.
2. Calling of an immediate conference of all those concerned with the misuse of injunctions in labor disputes.
3. Mobilizing of all local unions to call on the attorney general to release the four jailed men on bail until an appeal is heard.
4. Organizing of a meeting of all affiliated unions where possible under the joint sponsorship of the BC Federation of Labor and the Vancouver Labor Council, to discuss and explain the circumstances surrounding the convictions.
5. Following up the previous appeal for a \$2 per member contribution to the Federation's defence fund.
6. Appointment of a spokesman who alone will be responsible for releasing statements on behalf of the labor movement during the campaign.

"The trade union movement, and yes, even before there was a trade union movement, workers struggled to gain a better life, and the things that were gained in bygone years I enjoy today.

"As you are well aware, some of the just rights that society as a whole enjoys today, and you too, were won by the blood of working men and women.

"The employer has always used all at his disposal to retard the growth of trade unions and free thought, resorting to murder, so-called legal execution, troops, police, spies, stool-pigeons, scabs, and what have you -- all to no avail.

"In this day and age, the employer has become a little more sophisticated and does not generally resort to the tactics of old but he still re-

tains this inclination. He now uses the courts to do what he cannot accomplish himself.

no illusions

"I wish to make my position quite clear. I do not wish you, your lord-



Paddy Neale, Secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council, being taken handcuffed to prison to serve a six months jail sentence for participating on a picket line.

Chamber Backs Labor Injunctions

Sun Staff Reporter

EDMONTON — The Canadian Chamber of Commerce stood firmly Monday in favor of judicial injunctions in labor disputes when they are necessary to enforce the law.

R. J. Woxman of London, Ont., in presenting the recommendation, said good citizenship made by labor relations cannot tolerate intimidation, harassment, obstruction, threats, public be prohibited.

The recommendations on injunctions and on several other labor issues, accepted at policy sessions, now must go to a plenary session of the chamber Wednesday before they become official policy.

The chamber opposed the old Rand formula, which says that workers at a plant who don't belong to the union representing other workers pay dues on the grounds that they gain benefits won by the union.

Vancouver Board of Trade presented several labor proposals.

Delegates agreed that recourse to the courts should not be denied in decisions or awards by labor relations and arbitration boards.

They also approved a proposal that strikes and lockouts endangering health and safety of the public be prohibited.

Ralph Pybus said the proposal is not interference with individual freedom.

"You could say the same of rape or murder," he said.

Dr. J. M. Rienstra of North Vancouver said: "There comes a point where individual freedom becomes subservient to the good of all of us."

Vancouver also won backing for a plan to have unions give management 48 hours notice of actual strike time, so that plants can be shut down in an orderly way.

Big Business Smacks Its Lips

(p. 3)
ship, to be under any illusions as to my actions. If a picket line appears around this building tomorrow and you were to grant an injunction prohibiting picketing, I would join the picket line if requested to do so.

"In closing, I will say that I refuse to apologize to you, this court or anyone else for my actions.

"What I did was what I thought was right."

Toronto Resolution

"Therefore be it resolved that the Toronto & District Labor Council, recognizing the importance of this struggle and the validity of labor's slogan 'an injury to one is an injury to all' go on record as,

1. "Expressing uncompromising opposition to the jailing of the BC unionists by calling for their immediate release and the dropping of all charges against them.

2. "Total solidarity with the struggle by BC labor to abolish injunctions once and for all.

3. "Declaring a readiness by this council to respond to any call for aid in this struggle by the BC labor movement.

4. "Strongly encouraging affiliates of this council in similar injunction situations to follow the courageous lead of the BC unionists who in the face of tremendous pressure and the possibility of personal sacrifice chose to defy undemocratic anti-labor strike breaking laws and legislation.

"And be it further resolved that this resolution be sent to the November convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor as an emergency resolution."

(Above is part of a resolution passed at the October 6 meeting of the Toronto & District Labor Council. It was endorsed by the executive of the Council.)

Jailings

demonstrations got fines totalling \$3,100. Their "crime" was that they demonstrated their opposition to Lenkurt's indiscriminate use of overtime. They also believed that working men and women have the right to call it a day after 8 hours of work! They were also "guilty" of believing that a union has the right to strike and put up picket lines. For these "crimes" they were sentenced to prison.

If anyone should have been on trial it ought to have been Bennett and his cabinet ministers -- they are the ones who, with the help of their Liberal friends, put anti-labor bills 42 and 43 into law. These bills were passed in order to "stabilize" the economy -- in other words, to make strikes illegal. Judges like MacDonald are appointed (not elected) to make sure reactionary laws are enforced.

Injunctions, compulsory arbitration and the imprisonment of trade union leaders are taking place from coast to coast. The Saskatchewan Liberal government recently broke the Power Corporation workers' strike with laws that make bills 42 and 43 appear modest.

Postal Workers Next?

Ontario workers face the same problems -- wholesale use of injunctions and the jailing of trade union activists.

Just to show how well the anti-labor drive is coordinated from Ottawa

PUBLISHED BY VOLUNTARY LACOR:

1208 GRANVILLE, VANCOUVER. B.C.

OCTOBER 1966

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

The Workers Vanguard

1 CUMBERLAND STREET TORONTO 5, ONT

\$1.00 for 12 issues, \$2.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

Name

Address

Vanguard Forums
every friday night
8:00 P.M.
1208 Granville St.

the federal government recently passed emergency legislation forcing compulsory arbitration onto the railway workers, and thereby broke their strike. If the Pearson government thinks it can get away with it, bill C-170 will be pinned on the postal workers. This bill denies them the right to strike and is on the verge of becoming law.

Need N.D.P. govt.

It is obvious that what we need is an NDP government in the provinces and Ottawa. But what to do in the meantime? Employ high priced lawyers to try and win the courts over to the side of labor? Win the judges over by showing what "responsible trade unionists we are? Or should we take on "the job action" as the IWA and Boilermakers have suggested? Big business lawyer Eric Brown claimed the four jailed unionists should "rot in jail." And that's exactly what will happen if the labor movement does not put up a serious fight to free them immediately and have all charges dropped.

The only way this can be done is through using labor's strength. What's wrong with the idea of a mass rally outside the court house during working hours? It would make a good start in a series of activities to preserve the unions. If the government continued to harass and persecute us -- if the four were still kept behind bars, why not go a step forward -- why not call a 24 hour work stoppage for example? Such actions would be very responsible and meet with approval from broad layers of the work force. Thousands of dollars have been picked from labor's pocket in fines resulting from injunctions. Ten longshore leaders have served time -- 4 other unionists are serving time -- how many more sentences are to be handed down -- how many more jailed unionists does the labor movement have to provide before we take action?

October 25, 1966

Montreal

Dear Pat; (Mitchell)

I am wondering if sometime in the next day or so you would sit down and write up a short report of the forum on the PSQ. As you know the PSQ asked the LSC to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ solidarize itself with their case. I was hoping to reproduce something to this effect from the recent issue of La Lutte. Bob cryptically writes about some reasons why we did not cover this.

This could be handled very easily with a quotation from the forum speakers comments. It doesn't need to be lengthy or of course an exact quote. If fact the rest of the short article could well deal with the general response to our now regular forums--we got the excellent notice on Hungary. And it could also report the inspiring campaign you are carrying with the paper around such events as the CSN convention.

Say about 30 lines 60 characters to the line.

comradely


Ross

Had a pc meeting last night----agreed to change the date of next to FPCC weekend

Ont. NDP Rally Engineered to Election, Left Firms-up

By J. CONNOLLY

NDP leader T. C. Douglas scored the corporate elite who rule Canada, their manipulation of prices, their postponement of medicare and their anti-labor legislation, in his summary speech to the Niagara Falls Ontario NDP convention. But he closed off with a weak-kneed statement that the NDP "won't take sides in an economic war," but is out rather to create an economic partnership in the economy. This was the theme that dominated the convention.

The convention demonstrated the party's growing influence, its deepening trade union base, but also the refusal of the leadership to offer a perspective of meaningful solutions to the pressing problems confronting the workers and the farmers.

In size and organization the convention was impressive. Of the 814 registered delegates 314 were trade union delegates. Most of them came from Auto, Steel and Rubber. The leadership projected the concept of power in 1967 with a minimum of 67 seats. Some 350 of the delegates pledged \$30,000 to this "Project 67."

The provincial executive viewed the convention as a pre-election show designed to strengthen the machine and present a vote-catching image to the electorate. This task was carried out in a polished sophisticated manner leaving little room for serious debate on policy problems.

Little attention was given the current legal assault against the labor movement. Resolutions were passed calling for the abolition of injunctions and the implementation of the Freedman report. A petition was circulated demanding amnesty for the Peterboro unionists who await trial for defying injunctions.

Milk subsidies, divorce, land use, and other issues were discussed while more basic questions like nationalization of Bell Telephone, the CPR and utilities, and entry into municipal politics were passed over without comment.

Two constitutional amendments were dealt with. The destruction of youth autonomy by integrating youth and party membership was one. The other, euphemistically called "responsibilities of membership," gave the executive disciplinary powers over members who allegedly

misrepresent the party, discredit the party or support an unofficial group in the party using the party name without prior written approval.

Both passed with large opposition, the latter receiving the largest opposition vote of the convention, with opponents protesting that such a resolution paved the way for witch-hunting and limiting party debate.

These resolutions and the processed nature of the convention combined to create an uneasiness among many delegates, especially those from the unions. Many commented that the convention appeared to be a formality rather than a serious discussion on policy, and that only lip service was being paid to the big problems of automation, inflation, anti-labor laws, and peace and war. This was expressed in several procedural wrangles with the chair who at one point pleaded with the delegates to assume the chairs integrity.

Organized opposition to this trend was provided by the Ontario Socialist Caucus formed several weeks before the convention by leading Ontario activists in the Socialist Caucus that appeared at the federal convention last year. In its literature the caucus stated it was "concerned with the tendency of the party, as it moves closer to power, to support the evils of a social system it has vowed to change," and expressed solidarity with members of the

British Labor Party like Frank Cousins, head of the Transport and General Workers Union who "are attempting to halt the evolution of the BLP, into a captive instrument of the British corporate elite." It stated that its seven point program would cut across the drift of the party into becoming a mere electoral machine and would make it a "fighting machine" able to mobilize the working people for fundamental social change.

The caucus effectively raised the Vietnam issue making sure that it came to the floor, and joined with other New Democrats active in the anti-war movement in criticizing the failure of the party to mobilize the Ontario section against the U.S. Vietnam aggression. In the discussion on a token resolution that merely reaffirmed the long dormant federal Vietnam position, caucus supporters called on the party to make Vietnam an integral part of

Project 67.

A slate of four socialist caucus candidates running for executive members-at-large received 20% of the vote in an election which saw the return of most of the old leadership. A caucus supporter running for treasurer also received a 20% vote after declaring in an election speech that he wanted to represent the socialist view on the executive.

In contrast to previous conventions there appeared to be more tolerance of minority views on the floor due in part to the large trade union delegation and a certain sensitivity of the leadership to the growing militancy of the working class. The vote for the caucus slate can be considered a vote against the reformist leadership. It is a reflection of this rising militancy and points to the long term ramifications of the contradiction between the NDP's trade union base and its reformist program.

At Portuguese Amnesty Conference in Toronto

The Canadian Conference for Amesty in Portugal, which opened in Toronto on October 28 with a mass meeting attended by 400, was an impressive demonstration of solidarity with the embattled opponents of the Salazar fascist dictatorship. 54 delegates and observers representing 34 organizations participated in the sessions held over the next two days.

Featured speakers Andrew Brewin (NDP M.P.) and David MacDonald (PC M.P.) gave an eye-witness report of their recent visit in Portugal. After hearing the gruesome story of the violation of the most elementary of democratic rights, the imprisonment and torture of opponents of the regime, a member of the audience asked what was Canada doing about this. Pearson maintains Canada in the NATO al-

liance with Salazar. Mr. Brewin gave the flat answer—Nothing!

Prior to Mr. Brewin's address, and after extending official greetings to the conference from the Patriotic Front of National Liberation, Rui Cabacada, challenged that without the support of the "West" Salazar would go down. There were no signs of liberalization, he stated, but on the contrary, only increased violence. Mr. MacDonald affirmed this in his comments about what he called a liberalization in economic policies. The trend in civil rights, he said, is quite the opposite, with the recent opening up of new concentration camps.

Perhaps the most important decision of the conference itself was the setting up of a continuing body called the Canadian Committee for Amnesty in Portugal.

1966
November 6, 1966

Montreal

Dear Pat;

Yes we got Bob's note on the LSO forums--the books that were borrowed on Hungary

As I told you over the phone I had a fairly lengthy discussion with Jean-Pierre and Edith. Under the circumstances I think that it was a good idea that they came here---for a few days. Gives the opposition a few minutes to think things over under circumstances of more calm. They told me a day or so after the talk--the latter one---that they will be leaving this coming Wednesday --On their way back they will stop off and distribute last issue of the Vanguard at the Kingston assembly of the OFL. They plan to get a place more removed from previous circles. Since it would appear that Edith's father is capable of a very serious act--possibly murder--I told them that they must consider in all seriousness consider getting a court order against him---even have him incarcerated. As for Bob who I understand has even gone to the lengths of offering to pay J-P's fare back to France--- should he not change his attitude I told them we will have to take action against him. I gather that he has threatened J-P's life. Possibly it was done in the heat of a moment. However if he so much as says anything like this and then does not retract I am for expelling him. Imagine if he carried it out. We cannot even have this kind of threat hanging over us. If he cannot conduct himself in a mature manner the least we will have to do is give him a leave of absence. What you say is absolutely intolerable--and he must know not just what one or the other of us as individuals think of it but what we as a movement think of it.

Interested to hear of the discussion with the fellow who was on the staff of the PSQ on the labor party question. I take it you have copies of the other pamphlet that we put out here by Trotsky on the labor party. Of course we want the labor party--the party of the class to have a revolutionary program and a revolutionary leadership. If there is any possibility of this development going this way it is in its formative period when the matter of its program is up for debate, when the character of its leadership has not been firmly decided. The NDP in the rest of Canada is already formed and with a hard reformist leadership. When we first moved around it we tried to project the possibilities of assuring it being otherwise. While this possibility was finished some while back, if it ever existed--it was only at the last convention that we formally wrote finis to this period--the formative period. The character of the labor party is by no means settled in Quebec. This depends on many factors---but first the very nature of the national question puts an unfinished character to it regardless of the situation in the rest of Canada, the possibility of it taking on a revolutionary program and accepting a revolutionary leadership or at least something more approximating such is better in Quebec than anywhere. This depends on what the revolutionaries do--what their attitude is to it--whether they move in on it. Of course if they stand on the outside and without their intervention demand that it have a revolutionary program and leadership before they will make a move you can be almost sure that it will have none of these qualities. Yes we want the labor party to be revolutionary--that is why we formulated the idea of the PSQ and others participating along with the NDP in its formation.

I cannot see any problem here that Mike could possibly object to our settling. Are we not talking about what our comrades within the NDP should be saying. What the paper says is another thing. It need not be so committed to the idea that the present NDP is the vehicle

Of course ~~they~~ in so far as they are members of the NDP as it now is they should be pushing it--pushing it to approach the PSQ, the CSN to launch a mass labor party formation---but in the meantime it exists in its own right, and ~~there is no doubt~~ inevitably tends to spread out to running in every federal riding and logically moving out on the provincial plane. ~~For~~ those elements in the NDP who are looking for some kind of bloc with the Lesage Liberals or some wing of the Liberals Levesque would naturally be holding back on the party going into the provincial arena on any scale. We want to do battle with this tendency and ~~there is no doubt~~ one of the best ways would be to push the party out provincially under its own label. The only factor that would hold us back in anyway would be to not present the PSQ, the MLP, the CSN with a fait accompli, ~~we~~ would not want to inform them that they have to throw in the sponge and join the NDP or in the case of the CSN the FTQ. We would ~~be prepared~~ be prepared to take certain organizational adjustments that would allow the radical currents to get together with the NDP forces to launch a much more formidable party that would encompass all the left forces--and in particular those forces that would line up with us Trotskyists who are in the NDP in the struggle to give the aborning party a revolutionary program and a revolutionary leadership.

So while we are for the NDP as NDPers to move in boldly into the provincial arena--we ~~still do not say~~ still do not say in Quebec that the NDP is the labor party--although it poses the labor party because of the situation in the rest of Canada where it is the labor party---a reformist labor party. The labor party has yet to be launched in Quebec ---it would of necessity have to establish some formal relationship with the NDP in the rest of Canada.

Does Mike oppose the NDP running provincially because it tends to make it the force around which the labor party will form. Well I doubt that our efforts in this respect would stop the process or play any decisive roll in impelling it forward. We dont have many numbers and at best at this stage an aggressive policy would bring the best elements around us who oppose any dilly-dallying with the Liberals. From where I sit I think this is the more likely question around which this matter of entering provincial elections is being posed.

No I did not raise this matter with the PC. It is diffiuclet for the PC to intervene in such a matter without any documentation. Possibly you are going to present a short yes a short document on this. Let Mike reply. Perhaps he will go along--as he often has when the showdown takes place. Then he may refer the matter to the PC in the belief that the LSC is not to decided such a matter--well we could handle it very well at that stage. Perhaps your document and his will come in for a discussion. Then the PC could make its own comment on the politics of it

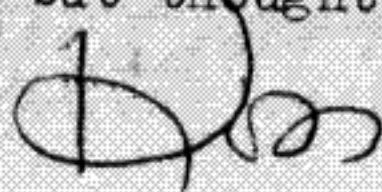
Yes I did manage to pull something together on the early history of the movement. It ~~was~~ on tape. And it is out of my control. I thought that Brenda took it down with her. I have just asked Jackie about it and she thinks that it is still in the YSF house. She promises to bring it up. I hope to have a chance to listen to it to see if we want it circulating around. I had to give the forum the night before so I dont think it is much good.

As far as I can see it is a matter of indifference to us whether we have the meeting on Saturday morning or Sunday. I assume that none of us are really heavily involved in the FPCC banquet. ~~There is only one point here that might bother us---~~ Nomination day is the Monday and it might be convenient to have all meetings cleared away on the Saturday.

Hope this take up the pressing matters--must write Dick who is probably having ulcers over the neglect. Hope to have the paper off in your hands for the November 11 and 12. Finished the writing tonight---now the typesetting has to be done then I work on the layout and heads. Could have worked on temporary layout tonight but thought I would get this away.

comradely

Ross



1 Cumberland St.,
Toronto 5, Ont.,
Nov. 10, 1966.

Dear Al,

Received your letter of Nov. 2 a few days ago. I am glad to learn that you are in general agreement with the decision regarding CVN. I also think that your suggestion for a tour by one of the editors of the campuses is well worth looking into. I will raise this with other PC members; at the ~~same~~ moment I couldn't be sure of everything involved, but it should be seriously looked into.

No doubts have been raised, to my knowledge, by any PC member regarding the priority of campus work in the anti-war area in the next period. This is obviously where the greatest immediate possibilities lie, probably for some considerable length of time.

Now we should take up the question concerning the circulation of your document. The opinion of the PC is that initial circulation of such material should be confined to the center. In the first place, as a matter of principle, circulation of all documentation is the responsibility of the PC between CC meetings and conventions, and should therefore be under its control. As soon as material is circulated outside the center this control is lost. In concrete terms, a great deal of unnecessary discussion and speculation took place that needn't have. The fact that you indicate general satisfaction with our decision concerning our orientation to the Newsletter indicates that this question could have been discussed between yourself and the PC to our mutual satisfaction without other comrades getting involved. As it was, the document - or at least a synopsis of it - went considerably beyond the confines of the PC before it had a chance to meet and take up the question. This provoked a considerable amount of speculative and to some extent ill-considered projections concerning the Newsletter. At the informal meeting mentioned in the PC minutes, a proposal was put forward that in essence became an effective decision - if only temporarily - to dump the existing publication. Now some of the responsibility for that unfortunate meeting rests with PC members present who permitted themselves to be carried along, but the fact is that if the document had been presented ~~at~~ only to the PC I am sure the result of the discussion would have been the same as it is now, without the resultant confusion and speculation that resulted from its wider circulation. Just for an example, quite a number of comrades, backing away from the difficulties in working with other elements in CVN, immediately seized on the idea of a separate campus publication, without really stopping to consider what resources were available, let alone the loss of political capital that would have resulted from dumping CVN in its present form. That is why we think very strongly that the center should have had time to reply to the document before it was sent elsewhere.

I hope that is a sufficient explanation of the motion and I feel confident it will have your agreement. If not though I look forward to hearing from you further on this.

Just before signing off - we had a very successful campus meeting for George Novack today - nearly 400 - one of the biggest such lectures on U of T in years! Very hectic week ~~xxx~~ here - as in Vancouver, I'm ~~xxxx~~ sure - preparing for SDP - if it comes off half as well as the Novack meeting, we're away!

comradely,

John B.

cc

VOTE SOCIALIST DEC.14

Oppose the U.S. war against Vietnam

Fight anti-labor injunctions

For a socialist civic government and
a socialist Canada

JEAN RANDS FOR MAYOR

campaign HQ 1208 Granville St. 682-9332

November 16, 1966

Dear friend,

The campaign to elect Jean Rands mayor on December 14 has got off to a good start.

Several radio stations have announced that Jean is challenging the millionaire real estate speculators Campbell and Rathie. Some listed part of her program.

Last nights CJOR interview lasted three hours -- questions came in about everything from China to the Georgia Viaduct. Friday nights forum was announced giving place and time.

The Labor Statesman has promised a half page spread. Further radio time and TV coverage is being sought.

The Vancouver labor council and every local union has been sent a circular asking for an opportunity for Jean to speak before their next membership meeting.

Here's how you can help:

- 1) Distribute leaflets. Assemble at headquarters 7pm Thursdays, 10am Saturdays.
- 2) Put up posters in your local shopping centre, coin laundry, etc.
If you are free during the day help us put them in the downtown stores.
- 3) Get your union, social organization, to hold an "all candidates" night.
If that is not possible, arrange a house meeting of your neighbors to hear Jean.
- 4) Donate money to cover campaign costs. (About \$100 is needed for paper alone)

Phone headquarters for further information.

Fraternally,

Bob Rands

FOUNDED IN 1966
VANGUARD FORUM

discussion & debate ON THE LEFT

The fight for
WOMEN'S RIGHTS
in B.C.~ a panel

Marg Livingstone

NDP Candidate for Alderwoman

Linda Shuto

B.C. Teachers Federation Women's Studies Cttee.

Wendy Stevenson

League for Socialist Action (LSA) Candidate for Alderwoman

**WOMEN
AREN'T
GOING TO BE
STOPPED**



friday, Nov. 15

8pm

The developing struggle for

Native Rights



Chief Mathias Joe of the Capilano Reserve.

Ken Basil of the Bonaparte Reserve and leader of the Cache Creek occupation.

Shirley Smith
of the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians.

friday, Nov. 22

8pm

1208 GRANVILLE

688-5924

Come to the SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN VICTORY PARTY

We won't have any profits or dividends to announce. What we can promise is that no matter what the outcome of the November 20 election the Socialist Campaign has been a huge success. We have reached thousands of Vancouver working people, women, natives, gay people and students with our socialist program--the only one that meets their needs. Come and celebrate with us!

at the socialist campaign headquarters

SATURDAY NOV. 23

1208 GRANVILLE ST.

8 PM

ADMISSION \$2

REFRESHMENTS DANCING ENTERTAINMENT

FUND RAISING IN SUPPORT OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

688-5924

Sponsored by the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action

Montreal - Found in Nov. 1966 (ref. 1966 elections)

THE LABOR PARTY QUESTION IN QUEBEC

-- by R. Brock

(D. Fidler)

Some months ago, the Quebec Trotskyist movement began to raise the slogan for a labor party. The decision to advance this entirely correct proposal was never documented within our ranks, nor was it submitted to a prior discussion and ratification by the membership; rather, like so many of the previous and not nearly so propitious "orientations" of the comrades of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere -- myself included -- the labor party demand simply grew out of the implicit logic of developments in the French-Canadian working class and left movements and our participation in them.

Since the adoption of this slogan for a Quebec labor party, we have passed through a whole range of practical experiences. Among these were the federal election campaign of November 1965, in which our Quebec forces gave critical support to the Quebec New Democratic Party; the formation of the "new Parti Socialiste du Quebec (PSQ)", in which a number of comrades have participated actively, even to the extent of accepting leading posts; and the "provincial" (Quebec) election of June 1966, during which the comrades gave critical support to the PSQ's campaign in five select constituencies. In the course of these experiences, it has become obvious that there is much confusion and misunderstanding in the ranks of the LSO over the meaning of the labor party slogan, its significance and expression in our day-to-day work. The following remarks are an attempt to clarify some important aspects of the question.

I. The Meaning of the Labor Party Slogan

Trotskyists have stated many times that the central problem of our epoch is the crisis of leadership within the organizations of the working class. The vast majority of workers remain "trapped" in their traditional organizations, and are not prepared yet to break consciously with the established reformist leaderships of these formations. The struggle for a new, revolutionary leadership independent of the bourgeoisie and its parties takes the form of a struggle to break the workers politically from support of or acquiescence in the policies of the reformists -- to win them to support for anti-capitalist measures. In the course of this struggle, within as well as outside the traditional formations of the class, the new leadership will be forged, under the banner of the Fourth International. The chief accusation that we level against the traditional working class organizations is precisely that they do not wish to break with pro-capitalist politics.

To lead the workers into struggle to replace the old leadership, we must expose the latter's unwillingness and incapacity to break decisively with the bourgeoisie. We do this most effectively by urging the old leadership to...take the power. To lead the masses into struggle around the slogan "For a Workers' and Farmers' Government" is to confront them with the essence of the reformism of the trade union and workers' parties bureaucracies -- i.e., the latter's refusal to break politically with capitalism, their desire to "neutralize" the bourgeois state, to wean it from the embrace of Capital.

A workers' and farmers' government, as we envisage it, constitutes essentially a transitional regime in a capitalist state -- a regime which is nevertheless actively engaged in destroying that state, and creating a new structure, a workers' state. It is characterized as an ^{anti-capitalist} anti-bourgeois government: "A government independent of the bourgeoisie". Such a regime, of course, has nothing in common with the successive Labour governments in Great Britain, or the social-democratic regimes in Scandinavia and other western European countries, which have proven to be nothing more than governments of the bourgeoisie ruling through its agents in the working class. (Similarly, an NDP government under Douglas and Lewis -- or Cliche and Laberge -- would hardly constitute a workers' and farmers' government; however, this does not hinder us from urging them, as leaders of the labor party which enjoys the allegiance of the politically- and class-conscious working masses, to take the power and use it to undertake fundamentally anti-capitalist measures)

In a very lucid and often-quoted passage addressed to British communists in 1920*,

*in "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder", Moscow, no date, pp. 82-85

Lenin described the revolutionary position toward such mass working class formations under the social-democratic reformists' leadership.. It deserves to be quoted at length:

"If we are the party of the revolutionary class, and not a revolutionary group, if we want the masses to follow us (and unless we do, we stand the risk of remaining mere wind-bags), we must, firstly, help (BLP leaders) Henderson and Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (or, rather, compel the former to beat the latter, because the former are afraid of their victory!); secondly, we must help the majority of the working class to convince themselves by their own experience that we are right, that is, that the Hendersons and Snowdens are absolutely unsuitable, that they are petty bourgeois and treacherous by nature, and that their bankruptcy is inevitable; thirdly we must bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of the majority of the workers in the Hendersons, it will be possible with serious chances of success to overthrow the government of the Hendersons at once....

"...

"...We shall not only help the Labour Party to establish its government more quickly, but also help the masses to understand more quickly the communist propaganda that we shall carry on against the Hendersons without any curtailment or omission.

"If the Hendersons and the Snowdens reject a bloc with us...we shall gain still more, for we shall have at once shown the masses...that the Hendersons prefer their close relations with the capitalists to the unity of all the workers. We shall immediately gain in the eyes of the masses, who...will sympathize with the idea of uniting all the workers against the Lloyd George - Conservative alliance. We shall gain immediately because we shall have demonstrated to the masses that the Hendersons and the Snowdens are afraid to beat Lloyd George, are afraid to take power alone, and are striving secretly to secure the support of Lloyd George, who is openly extending his hand to the Conservatives against the Labour Party....

"...

"At present the British Communists very often find it hard to approach the masses and even to get a hearing from them. If I come out as a Communist and call upon the workers to vote for Henderson against Lloyd George, they will certainly give me a hearing. And I will be able to explain in a popular manner...that I want with my vote to support Henderson in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man -- that the impending establishment of a government of Hendersons will prove that I am right, will bring the masses over to my side, and will hasten the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdens just as was the case with their kindred spirits in Russia and Germany."

Clearly, the transitional character of the slogan "For a Workers' and Farmers' Government", when addressed to the old (reformist) leadership as well as the masses, lies precisely in its unlikelihood of realization, so long as the reformist leadership -- which desperately does not want to establish a real anti-capitalist government -- enjoys the confidence of the masses, that is, so long as it is the leadership.* It would be myopic

(Footnote)

* Possibly the only examples in history where the petty-bourgeois leaderships and Stalinists have been forced by exceptional circumstances to establish genuine, if "deformed", workers' and farmers' governments (anti-capitalist regimes in capitalist states) have occurred in Eastern Europe after the Second World War, China and Cuba. In all cases, these regimes represented, in accordance with the predictions of the Transitional program, "a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat"; and in every case, too, they resulted in the creation of deformed workers' states. (Eastern Europe and China are obvious; but Cuba -- the only case in history of a successful socialist revolution led by what was originally a petty-bourgeois democratic (but relatively honest) leadership, may be considered sociologically at least a "deformed workers' state", because it lacks the organs of workers' rule. Politically, the "deformation" of the Cuban state remains more problematical, because the basic line of revolutionary insurrection and the primacy of socialist as opposed to bourgeois-democratic tasks is correct; yet the Cuban leadership continues to attack the revolutionary tendency which most consistently advances those demands.)

(cont. on page 3)

and thoroughly incorrect, however, to formulate our demands solely on the basis of their "practicality", that is, their possibility of realization by the reformist leadership of the mass working class organizations. What could be more "unrealistic" or "impractical" than the demand that the reformist leadership cease to be ...reformist?

The truth of the matter is that nothing is more "unrealistic" or "impractical" in the epoch of imperialist decay and socialist revolution than...the reformist bureaucracy. Reformist "solutions", which are fundamentally an attempt to "democratize" the capitalist state, to destroy its class character without destroying its class basis, are impossible. As Trotsky put it, in describing the broad historical perspectives of trade unionism at this period, "...The trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They can not any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of peoples and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." -- Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

But if reformist ~~solutions~~ are impossible, reformist leaderships as "secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism" are on the contrary the prevailing reality within the workers' organizations. And this is wholly understandable: for under capitalism, in which the trade unions have no real control over management decisions, the "spontaneous" development of the economic (trade union) struggle leads to reformist conclusions.*

For the same reasons, labor parties, which reflect the labor movement as it is, with all its weaknesses as well as its strengths, are almost certain to be reformist in program and prevailing prejudices. Nevertheless, the fundamental objective contradiction between the class base of the trade unions, on the one hand, and the pro-capitalist outlook of its leading cadres on the other, finds its highest and most intense expression in the contradiction between the class composition of the mass labor party and its liberal-reformist program. And just as independent trade unions are possible only as revolutionary trade unions, so also is the labor party independent of the capitalist parties possible only as a revolutionary party. That the labor party itself is unlikely to develop organically in

(footnote, page 2 cont.)

In fact, it may be stated as a general rule (which nevertheless allows of exceptions) that a real workers' and farmers' government, as we understand it, is realizable only as the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the revolutionary Marxist party, just as Lenin's "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" was realized only after October 1917, and as a government of the proletariat leading the peasantry.

*In "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay", Trotsky, after describing the "common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations in the entire world...their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power", and attributing this feature to the growing centralization of monopoly capital and its concomitant -- the growing importance of the monopoly-imperialist state in the day-to-day operations of capital -- goes on to conclude: "Hence flows the need of the trade unions -- insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property-to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its co-operation." The converse of this conclusion, which Trotsky does not state, but which is implicit in his analysis, is that the trade unions "remain on reformist positions" precisely because the spontaneous or unconscious development of the class struggle, without the intervention of the conscious socialist leadership, leads to reformist, adaptationist conclusions. It was through his analysis of this phenomenon in "What is To Be Done?" that Lenin developed his concept of the vanguard party and the necessity for this vanguard to combat spontaneity in the labor movement. (see particularly pp. 42-3 and 53-4 of What is To Be Done? Moscow, FLPH, 1947 edition.)

Toronto Socialists Up Poll, Van. in Race for Mayoralty

Montreal HQ Raided, Left Demands Inquiry Into Police Harassment

by Jean Laplante

MONTREAL—Spokesmen of the two major Québec civil rights movements and the organizations of the Québec left are calling for a full scale public enquiry into the conduct of the Montréal, Québec, and federal police forces. This was the demand that came out of the public meeting held here on December 2 to protest police raids; in particular, one on the downtown headquarters of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and another on the home of an organizer of the separatist Rassemblement pour l'indépendance Nationale in suburban Longueuil.

The meeting marked a favorable turn in the fight against the widespread police terror in Québec in that it united on a common platform the civil rights movement and representatives from the various organizations which up until now have individually borne the brunt of police harassment.

Among the speakers were: Jacques Guay of the Mouvement Populaire Québécois des Droits de l'Homme, Olivier Prat, secretary of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme; Jean-Marie Bedard, president of the Parti Socialiste du Québec; Mme Andre Bertrand-Ferrati of the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance Nationale; Sam Walsh of the Parti Communiste du Québec; Guy De-Grasse, president of the Comité d'Aide aux Patriotes Prisonniers; and Patricia Mitchell of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Beatrice Bryant of the Committee on Québec appeared on the platform to express solidarity of this largely Ontario-based organization with the Québec struggle.

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière headquarters was raided by four plain clothesmen, early in the evening of November 11. They were armed with a search warrant taken out in the name of a sergeant-detective. The pretence for the raid—a joint operation by Montréal, Québec and federal police—was that the headquarters of the Ligue, where it holds regular public meetings and publishes its paper *La Lutte Ouvrière*, contained guns, explosive materials, dynamite, detonators and electrical devices. The police found none of these in the course of their hour's search, during which they held the occupants incommunicado. But they took away several cartons of correspondence, socialist literature, files and the entire list of subscribers to *La Lutte Ouvrière*.

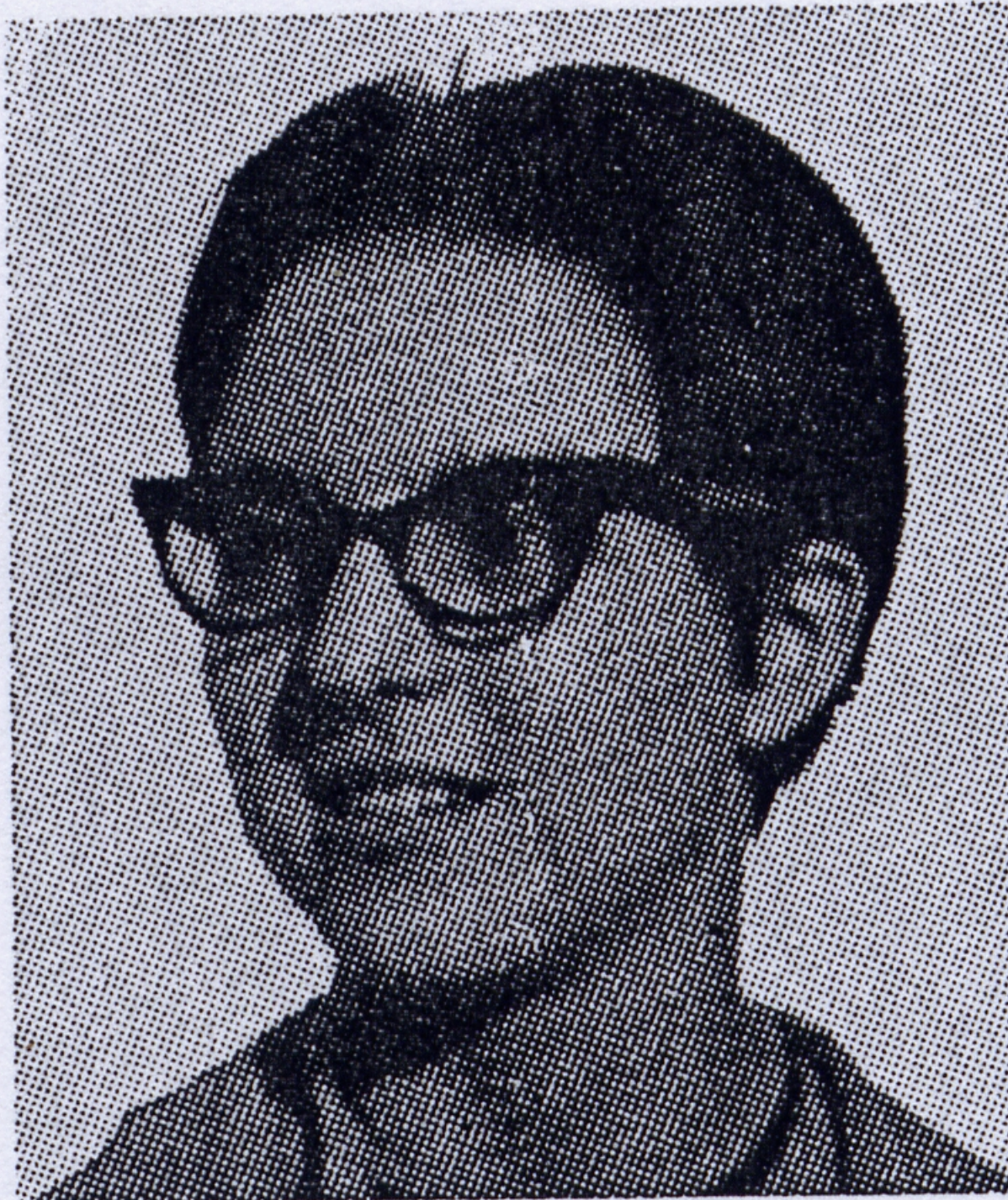
The Ligue's president, Pat Mitchell, in a statement that evening, charged that "The raid follows a pattern of harassment established in August when two members of the Ligue were arrested and held incommunicado 14 hours for distributing leaflets publicizing a demonstration against American actions in Vietnam. This raid occurs as the Ligue prepares for participation in the Student Days of Protest of November 11-12. It is an obvious attempt to intimidate those who oppose both the presence of American troops in Vietnam and the role of the Canadian government in supporting American actions."

Simultaneous with the raid on the LSO, three plainclothesmen raided the home of Louis Dennoncourt, a former candidate of the RIN, and that party's organizer for Richelieu. The police waited until Dennoncourt had left his home and then raided it under the same pretext—a search for arms. After turn-

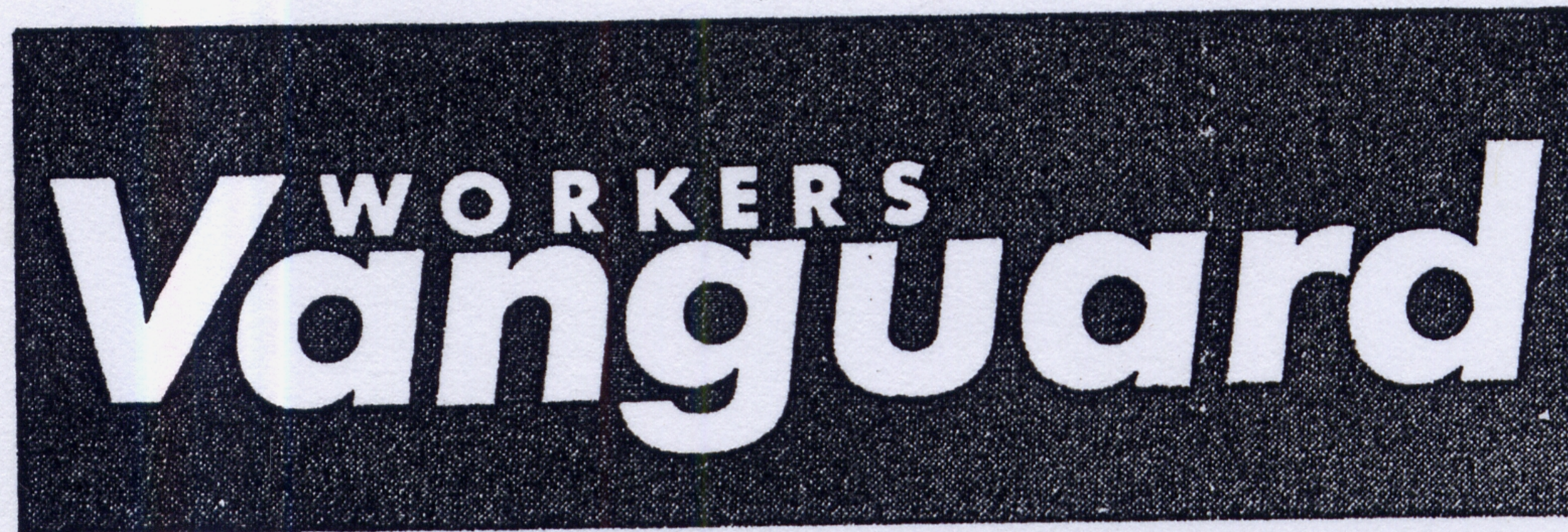
ing his home upside down, the police left with—RIN membership lists.

Gilles Gregoire (Ind. Lapointe) attempted to raise the matter of the raid on the RIN organizer's home in the House of Commons as an urgent matter since it "involved the violation of the most urgent elementary rights guaranteed by the constitution." He was stopped from (See page 3)

MAYORALTY CANDIDATE



JEAN RANDS



Vol. 11, No. 4 (124) December, 1966 21 Toronto—10 Cents

War Crimes Tribunal On Vietnam Launched

After a three-day meeting of leading participants in London, November 13-16, an International War Crimes Tribunal was formally constituted. A declaration of aims and objectives was adopted and legal and technical machinery set up to prepare for formal hearings scheduled for next March in Paris.

At the invitation of Bertrand Russell, who initiated the body, a distinguished group of intellectuals and legal experts have joined the tribunal. Headed by Jean-Paul Sartre, they include Vladimir Dedijer, Yugoslav historian and writer; Isaac

Deutscher, writer and historian; Mehmet Ali Aybâr, expert in international law and a member of parliament in Turkey; Mahmud Ali Pasuri, senior advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan; former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas; David Dellinger and Stokely Carmichael of the United States, and similar prominent figures in the academic and legal fields in Italy, France, Japan and the Philippines.

As the preliminary meetings convened, the leading London conservative paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, opened a full-dress attack, headlining the resignations of various heads of state, from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. These included Presidents Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

Bertrand Russell replied to the resignations by regretting that sponsors of the Foundation had "yielded to intolerable pressure". He added that the tribunal was fully autonomous and would not bend to governmental pressure. This position was backed by members of the tribunal at a press conference November 16. Isaac Deutscher and Vladimir Dedijer emphasized that the tribunal would rigorously guard its independence from any interference by any state power, official or unofficial agency. They made it clear that it would finance its work through contributions from sympathetic individuals and organizations.

The tribunal has set up a Public Liaison Commission, a Finance Commission, a Scientific Commission and a Legal Commission. It will send investigators to north and south Vietnam and invite witnesses to appear in Paris.

Skilled scientific workers have already volunteered to help in the inquiry and they will function under the direction of Professor Laurent Schwarz of the University of Paris, an eminent mathematician.

At the three-day preliminary meeting it was made clear that the tribunal members, who are from many lands and diverse backgrounds, and who hold divergent philosophies, shared a common feeling of historic responsibility to bring out the truth

(See page 4)

VANCOUVER—For trade unionists, for NDP supporters, and particularly for those who are socialists, this year's Vancouver civic election should prove the most inspiring in years.

Twenty-one year old Jean Rands is contesting the highest office in the city — the mayoralty seat — in the December 14 elections. She is campaigning on a socialist program in opposition to the Liberal and Socred supporters Rathie and Campbell. Both are real estate sharks and millionaires.

The program advocated by Jean Rands calls for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam in order to end the war there. She was quick to point out over radio CJOR that Vietnam is a civic issue because of the danger of the U.S. government implementing Eisenhower's threat to use atomic weapons, and thereby unleash a nuclear holocaust.

While Rathie and Campbell endorse the use of injunctions against the trade union movement and agree with the jailing of four local unionists for ignoring them, Rands comes out strongly for the trade unions to strike when, how, and as they see fit. She is for the immediate release of the four imprisoned unionists.

Instead of planning downtown Vancouver in the interests of the Hudson Bay company, Woodwards, Eatons, etc., Rands is demanding the expropriation of all privately-owned land now being used to gouge the public of millions of dollars every year. Low cost subsidized housing and changes in property tax in favor of the workers are other major planks in her program.

Rathie and Campbell are endorsed by the Liberal-backed "Non-Partisan Association" and the Socred-inspired "Civic Action Association" accordingly. Both organizations stand for the election of "good men", but in reality they are designed to maintain the Liberal-Tory-Socred alliance which dominates city hall. The top brass of the NDP and organized labor are defaulting in leadership by not nominating a full labor slate. By not nominating a candidate for mayor they give credence to the idea that Rathie and Campbell offer the electorate a "choice".

A group of NDPers have formed the Citizens for the Improvement of Vancouver and are running a four man slate which includes Norman Levi, provincial president of the NDP, for the ten aldermanic seats. The NDP is not officially supporting them. The immediate reaction of the NPA was to step-up their campaign to get NPA candidates elected.

In an open letter to the NDP Jean Rands declared she would immediately withdraw her nomination should a change of policy be effected by the nomination for mayor of an official candidate of the NDP or trade union movement.

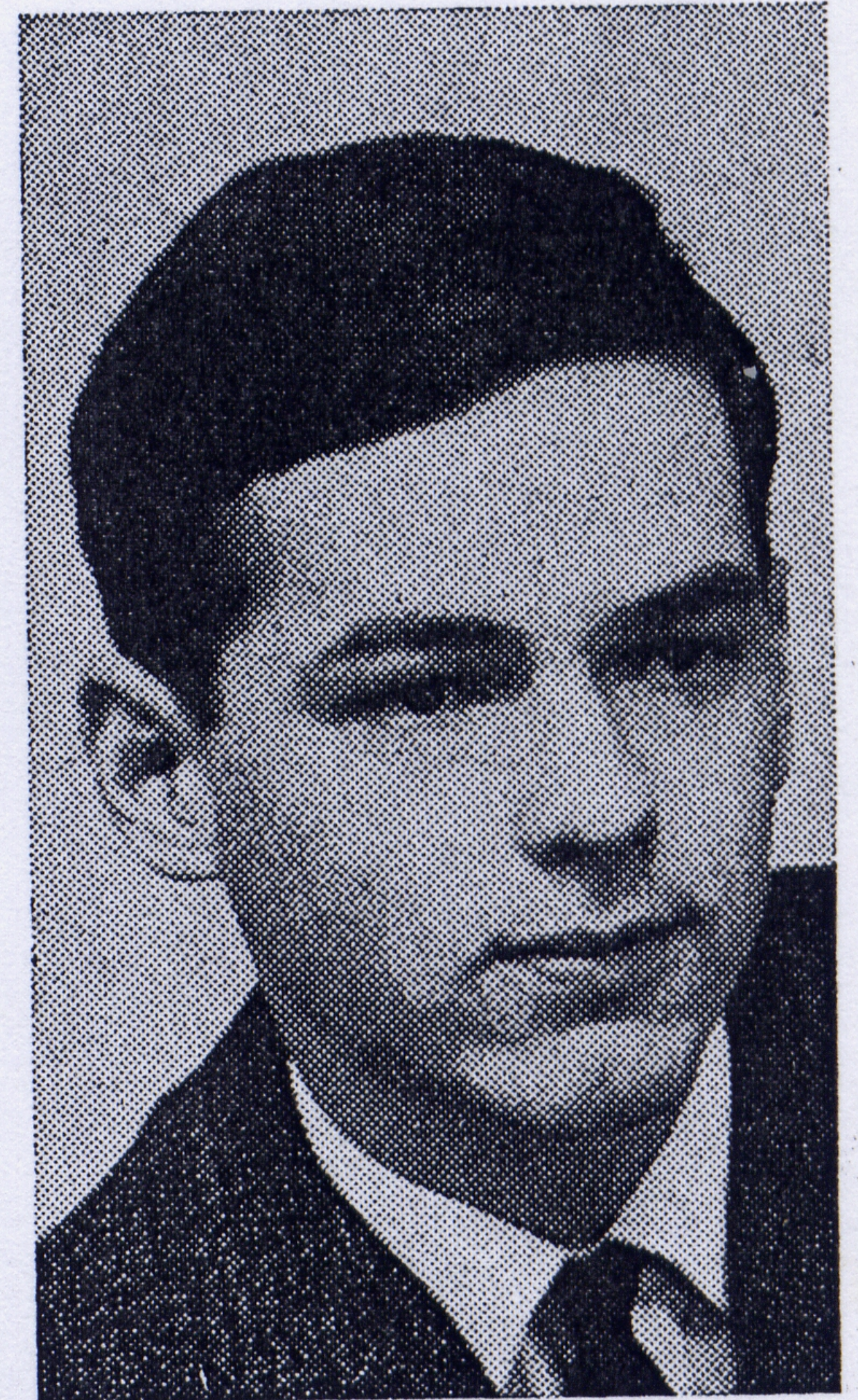
Despite her youth Jean Rands has an extensive record in the working class and student movement. She was a delegate to the founding convention of the New Democratic Party. She was vice-president of the Saskatchewan CCF youth movement in 1960 and secretary the following year of the Saskatchewan NDY. She was a founding member of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and is now a prominent activist in the protest movement against the war in Vietnam. Her Vancouver election campaign is sponsored by *Young Socialist Forum* and endorsed by the League for Socialist Action.

A big vote for Jean Rands is expected on December 14. Election material is being circulated on a large scale. Radio and TV time is being sought. Every possible election meeting will be covered.

TORONTO — "It seems that at least 5,000 voters agree with Young that Vietnam is a civic issue" commented the CFIO-TV announcer as municipal election results started to come in. But when all the returns were in, almost double that many voters had cast their ballot for Art Young, League for Socialist Action candidate for the Board of Control. His campaign stressed the danger of the growing escalation of the U.S. war of aggression, and pointed to the huge expenditures upon it as a major cause of the spiralling cost of living.

"The more than \$36 million a day spent on the war represents money

CONTROLLER CANDIDATE



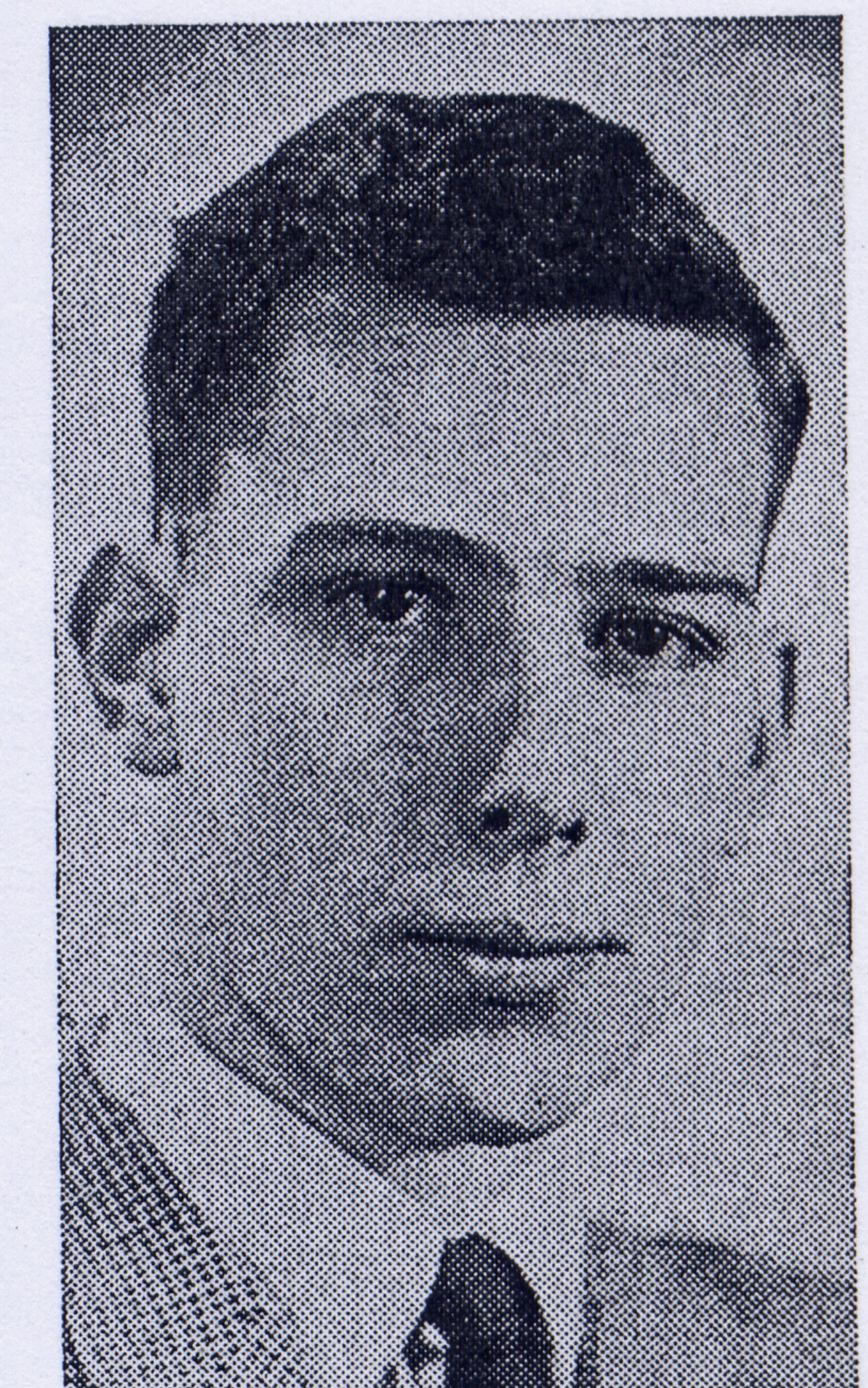
ARTHUR YOUNG

which could have been invested to produce cars, homes, appliances, schools, food. Because it is not, there are shortages of these items in the face of increased demands. Their prices shoot up," stated the campaign leaflet. Young called upon civic politicians to use their weighty office to oppose the murderous and inflationary war, and to aid the shoppers' fight against exorbitant price gouging.

Some of the warmest response came to Young's attack on the city's housing record, as he scored the civic administration for its failure to build more than a token number of low-cost housing units, and to his demand that the growing tax burden be placed on the wealthy corporations, not the small homeowner. His program also called for the removal of all TTC fares, and the establishment of a Metro medicare and insurance plan. It scored the

(See page 2)

TRUSTEE CANDIDATE



JOHN RIDDELL

Van. in Race for Mayoralty

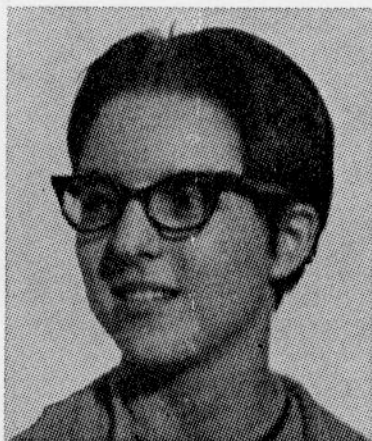
WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 4 (124) December, 1966



Toronto—10 Cents

MAYORALTY CANDIDATE



JEAN RANDS

VANCOUVER—For trade unionists, for NDP supporters, and particularly for those who are socialists, this year's Vancouver civic election should prove the most inspiring in years.

Twenty-one year old Jean Rands is contesting the highest office in the city — the mayoralty seat — in the December 14 elections. She is campaigning on a socialist program in opposition to the Liberal and Socred supporters Rathie and Campbell. Both are real estate sharks and millionaires.

The program advocated by Jean Rands calls for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam in order to end the war there. She was quick to point out over radio CJOR that Vietnam is a civic issue because of the danger of the U.S. government implementing Eisenhower's threat to use atomic weapons, and thereby unleash a nuclear holocaust.

While Rathie and Campbell endorse the use of injunctions against the trade union movement and agree with the jailing of four local unionists for ignoring them, Rands comes out strongly for the trade unions to strike when, how, and as they see fit. She is for the immediate release of the four imprisoned unionists.

Instead of planning downtown Vancouver in the interests of the Hudson Bay company, Woodwards, Eatons, etc., Rands is demanding the expropriation of all privately-owned land now being used to gouge the public of millions of dollars every year. Low cost subsidized housing and changes in property tax in favor of the workers are other major planks in her program.

Rathie and Campbell are endorsed by the Liberal-backed "Non-Partisan Association" and the Socred-inspired "Civic Action Association" accordingly. Both organizations stand for the election of "good men",

but in reality they are designed to maintain the Liberal-Tory-Socred alliance which dominates city hall.

The top brass of the NDP and organised labor are defaulting in leadership by not nominating a full labor slate. By not nominating a candidate for mayor they give credence to the idea that Rathie and Campbell offer the electorate a "choice".

A group of NDPers have formed the Citizens for the Improvement of Vancouver and are running a four man slate which includes Norman Levi, provincial president of the NDP, for the ten aldermanic seats. The NDP is not officially supporting them. The immediate reaction of the NPA was to step-up their campaign to get NPA candidates elected.

In an open letter to the NDP Jean Rands declared she would immediately withdraw her nomination should a change of policy be effected by the nomination for mayor of an official candidate of the NDP or trade union movement.

Despite her youth Jean Rands has an extensive record in the working class and student movement. She was a delegate to the founding convention of the New Democratic Party. She was vice-president of the Saskatchewan CCF youth movement in 1960 and secretary the following year of the Saskatchewan NDY. She was a founding member of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and is now a prominent activist in the protest movement against the war in Vietnam. Her Vancouver election campaign is sponsored by *Young Socialist Forum* and endorsed by the League for Socialist Action.

A big vote for Jean Rands is expected on December 14. Election material is being circulated on a large scale. Radio and TV time is being sought. Every possible election meeting will be covered.

Toronto Socialists Up Poll

#124-Dec.1966

WORKERS Vanguard

Election Campaign of Young and Riddell

(from page 1)

numerous appointed boards which exercise powerful control over the lives of all Torontonians without being responsible to them, and demanded that the boards be reconstituted to reflect the popular will.

Young Socialist Forum editor John Riddell contested a school trustee post in Ward 4. His campaign was unique, entirely planned and staffed by youth, particularly those of high-school age. They prepared and printed the campaign literature, distributed it to every home in the ward, and held several soapbox meetings at the area high schools. Riddell demanded an end to the Vietnam war which might soon escalate to the involvement of Canadian students, and called for free university tuition and living allowances to all students over sixteen, equal facilities for working class schools, and free day care centers and creches. He based his demand for democracy in the schools upon the program adopted by the Ontario Young New Democrats. Through the vigorous efforts of this unique campaign, Riddell obtained some valuable publicity. His 903 votes represented 15% of the total, not much less than the candidate of the Tory machine, who was also backed by one of the daily newspapers.

Young and Riddell were the only two candidates to stand for independent labor political action. Despite the unprecedented and growing popularity of the New Democratic Party, which now has the support of 35% of Torontonians, it presented no slate to expose the sham of non-partisan municipal politics. When the NDP and Labor Council brass refused to run candidates, the League for Socialist Action, which had repeatedly urged them to do so, fielded Young as its own candidate. Despite its modest resources, the LSA campaigned as the labor alternative to the civic capitalist poli-

ticians, to present socialist concepts on the municipal plane, and by its action, to expose the inaction and failure of the NDP-labor leadership.

The Toronto and District Labor Council went so far as to cross the class line by endorsing Liberal and Tory "friends of labor" like Alan Lamport, Margaret Campbell and June Marks. The labor brass hailed the election of these boss politicians as a victory for labor!

One significant outcome of the vote was the election of William Dennison as Mayor. An NDP member, he was on none of the three dailies' slates, yet he solidly defeated his Liberal and Tory opponents. He was elected on a protest vote. But he ran as an individual, not on the party label, and his program in no way identified with the labor movement; his victory cannot be considered as an NDP victory. Yet his victory will further shatter the old party machines in Toronto, increasing the pressure on the NDP to run a serious slate in the next

civic elections, and demonstrating the possibilities for its success.

While more than 60% of the electorate simply did not bother to vote, seeing little to choose from among the big business politicians, the Young and Riddell campaigns met a warm response from many partisans of labor. Several short interviews with Young over radio and TV had considerable impact, despite the refusal of the publicly-owned CBC to allow him any radio or TV time. *The Globe and Mail* had to admit that "he delivers, in terms of oratorical style, some of the best speeches in the recent campaign." But it combined with the other papers to black out what he had to say. Despite the blackout, the LSA evoked one of the biggest responses in many years to its civic campaign. And despite the blackout, thousands cast their ballots for Young, as the only city-wide candidate calling for a labor administration at City Hall.

in the face of increased demands. Their prices shoot up," stated the campaign leaflet. Young called upon civic politicians to use their weighty office to oppose the murderous and inflationary war, and to aid the shoppers' fight against exorbitant price gouging.

Some of the warmest response came to Young's attack on the city's housing record, as he scored the civic administration for its failure to build more than a token number of low-cost housing units, and to his demand that the growing tax burden be placed on the wealthy corporations, not the small homeowner. His program also called for the removal of all TTC fares, and the establishment of a Metro medicare and insurance plan. It scored the

(See page 2)

TRUSTEE CANDIDATE

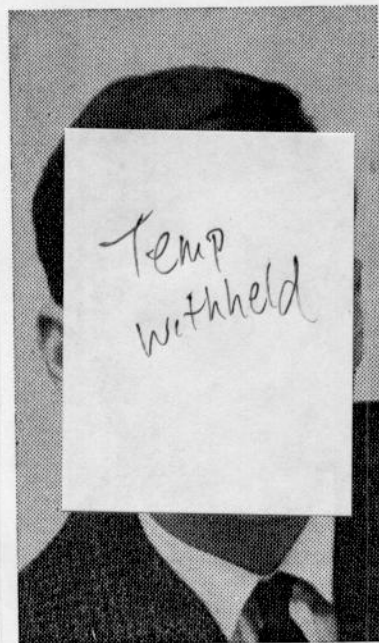


JOHN RIDDELL

TORONTO — "It seems that at least 5,000 voters agree with Young that Vietnam is a civic issue" commented the CFTO-TV announcer as municipal election results started to come in. But when all the returns were in, almost double that many voters had cast their ballot for Art Young, League for Socialist Action candidate for the Board of Control. His campaign stressed the danger of the growing escalation of the U.S. war of aggression, and pointed to the huge expenditures upon it as a major cause of the spiralling cost of living.

"The more than \$36 million a day spent on the war represents money

CONTROLLER CANDIDATE



ARTHUR YOUNG

which could have been invested to produce cars, homes, appliances, schools, food. Because it is not, there are shortages of these items

WORLD-WIDE PROTESTS DEMAND PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT GRANT

Amnesty for Blanco!

by John Willson

On November 25, three prominent Canadian academic figures voiced their protest to the Peruvian government over new moves by the prosecution to obtain a death sentence in the case of Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader sentenced September 8 to 25 years in the notorious island fortress of El Frontón. In doing so, Professors C. B. Macpherson, Donald E. Willmott, and Kenneth McNaught reaffirmed their support of the petition sent in mid-October to President Belaúnde Terry demanding Blanco's release, to which they, along with 12 other prominent University of Toronto faculty members, had fixed their signatures, contributing to the growing list of internationally known figures supporting the appeal.

Upon learning of the fresh threat against his life, Hugo Blanco's seven codefendants, in a letter signed November 5, demanded that their fate be linked with his. If Blanco is to die, they asked, let us be permitted to stand at his side and be shot at the same time.

November 26, the Paris daily *Le Monde* also reported that Peruvian political prisoners of all kinds have gone on a hunger strike in support of Hugo Blanco. According to another Paris source, the Pentagon is pressuring Belaúnde to go ahead and execute Blanco.

The international campaign in defense of Peru's revolutionary peasant leader has picked up rapidly. *L'Unita*, daily paper of the Italian Communist Party, reported November 15 that the National Secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labor had sent a telegram to the Peruvian president. At the same time a telegram was also sent by the new United Socialist Party. Additional actions were reported in various Italian centers.

In France, the National Union of Higher Education, the National Union of Students of France, and the sections of higher education and research of the General Union of National Education jointly cabled Belaúnde Terry demanding that the "proceedings be stopped at once". The Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru, headed by Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, has sent an appeal for amnesty.

In Belgium, forty-three members of the House of Representatives including members of every political party, sent a message expressing their opposition to the execution of the popular peasant leader.

In Scotland, Glasgow workers and



HUGO BLANCO

socialists demonstrated recently at the Peruvian Consulate. A petition hurriedly drawn up members of the Revolutionary Socialist League was signed by many Labor Party activists, trade unionists and housewives. Since the original petition was circulated, many rank-and-file members of trade unions, Labor parties, etc., have indicated that they wish their support recorded.

A number of figures in the British labor movement, including MP's Sidney Silverman, Bob Edwards, Eric Heffer and Andrew Faulds have signed a petition supporting Blanco. Other signatories include Arthur Deane, a leader of the chemical workers union and Judy Todd. Peter Taaffe, editor of the *Militant*, Arthur Deane and Colin Penfold presented the petition to the Peruvian embassy November 14. Hackney Young Socialists also sent a telegram demanding amnesty.

On November 25, a petition was

presented to the Peruvian Embassy in Santiago, Chile demanding amnesty for Hugo Blanco and his codefendants, as well as for hundreds of other political prisoners of the Belaúnde Terry regime. The petition was signed by Clotario Blest, for nine years chairman of the Unica des Trabajadores de Chile (CUT); Humberto Valenzuela, a leader of the Municipal Workers; Luis Vitale, a writer and former national leader of the CUT; Alejandro Chelén R., a former Senator and presently a member of the central committee of the Socialist Party, and many prominent writers, intellectuals, and lawyers.

Blanco and his codefendants received savage prison sentences after having been held more than three years without trial in atrocious conditions. They were accused of involvement in the death of three policemen. The army conducted their trial as a drumhead court martial in which the prosecution also acted as judge. What they were really "guilty" of, in fact, was giving leadership to the heroic struggle for the social liberation of the oppressed peasants of Peru.

Hugo Blanco's life remains in danger from the reactionary Belaúnde Terry regime. But these agents of American imperialism and of the ruling circles of Peru will have reason to reconsider their murderous intentions toward Hugo Blanco if the international campaign to defend his life is built up and sustained. Declarations protesting the threat to Hugo Blanco's life and demanding *immediate amnesty* should be sent to: the Consejo Suprema de Justicia, Lima, Peru. Similar cables should be sent to Presidente Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru. Copies of these should be airmailed to Hugo Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru.

Protest at UN Peru Mission

A petition calling for amnesty for Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco was taken to the Peruvian Mission at the United Nations in New York City, November 22. The officers of the newly established U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Paul Sweezy of *Monthly Review*, Felix McGowan of *The Catholic Worker*, and John Gerassi, U.S. representative of the International War Crimes Tribunal, were unable to deliver it as the mission locked its doors.

The petition had been circulated and signed by students on New York campuses in response to the threat against Hugo Blanco's life. Some 130 pickets, representing the Pro Independence Movement of Puerto Rico, the Young Socialist Alliance, the DuBois Clubs, the Socialist Workers Party, Spartacus League and student groups, marched in front of the mission for an hour protesting the threat to execute Blanco. Their signs read: "Down with Belaúnde's Democratic Farce"; "Free Hugo Blanco Now!"; "Support the Just Struggles of the Latin American People"; "Free Latin American Trotskyists".

Paul Sweezy Speaks at Pro-Cuba Banquet

TORONTO—Not far short of 200 persons listened to the featured address by Paul Sweezy and later joined in the social program of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee banquet on November 19. It was the sixth and one of the most successful banquets that the committee has held since its formation.

The pro-tem chairman of the committee in his opening remarks commented on enquiries from across Canada and the U.S. about the continued existence of the committee. They apparently flowed from awareness of the continued harassment of the committee which reached a peak immediately following the assassination of President Kennedy in which ultrarightists attempted to implicate it. They also flowed from the knowledge that relations with Cuban authorities have been somewhat strained since the abrupt cancellation of the 2nd student tour and later Castro's intemperate attack at the Tri-Continental Congress against one of the guerrilla forces in Guatemala and on Trotskyism.

The chairman declared that the committee has carried on and intends to continue to do so despite all difficulties because the primary purpose for which it was organized has still to be upheld. The committee was organized to defend the right of self determination of the Cuban people—including their right to pioneer the first socialist revolution in the Americas—free from Washington's threats to crush it. He recalled that in the past year the committee, in answer to an emergency appeal from the Cuban youth, had organized on a crash basis a picket demonstration protesting U.S. provocations at Guantanamo.

The guest speaker, Paul Sweezy, respected co-editor of *Monthly Review* and co-author with Leo Huber-

man, of *Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution*, commenced his contribution with the statement that he was here tonight because of three recent speeches by the Cuban leadership. The three speeches marked a turn, he said from the pattern displayed by Fidel Castro's speeches at the Tri-Continental Congress. They all breath the spirit of revolutionary socialist internationalism, and give nothing to the illusory concepts of peaceful coexistence.

While Fidel nowhere criticized by name any of the socialist countries, he clearly rebuked them for not having done more for Vietnam, and implicitly condemned them for their doctrine of appeasement of imperialism.

In his attack on such regimes as that headed up by Frei of Chile which promise those frightened of taking the revolutionary road bloodshed without the revolution, Fidel condemned those who help such regimes as being guilty of an unfriendly act to Cuba. It is a widely known fact that the USSR has made substantial loans both to Frei and to the Brazilian dictatorship.

The third speech, in which Castro promised the abolition of rents, Sweezy said, was in his opinion a truly original contribution to the discussion of the problems of the transition to Communism, and was an implicit criticism of what is going on in the Soviet areas.

"Fidel, an intuitive Marxist, is more faithful to Marxism than many who consider themselves to be expert in its theory."

Sweezy referred to another speech by the Minister of Education which developed the theme that moral incentives to work must have supremacy over material incentives—or the revolution will go backwards to capitalism. This was Che Guevar-

ra's view, Sweezy pointed out.

In summing up this phase of his speech, Sweezy said that whatever the crisis in the leadership last year—and he expressed the opinion that what went on at the Tri-Continental Congress signified such a crisis—it has been resolved for the present in the supremacy of a revolutionary socialist line.

Earlier in the proceedings two letters were read to the assembled guests, one from Dr. Americo Cruz, Cuba's ambassador to Canada, the other from the Vancouver FPCC chapter secretary, expressing regrets about inability to attend and solidarity with the banquet.

Subscribe Now!

WORKERS Vanguard

Send \$1 for 12 issues

1 Cumberland Street,
TORONTO, ONTARIO

#124 Dec. 1966

Xmas Gift Suggestions

THE CANADA-VIETNAM NEWSLETTER-THE CANADIAN VOICE OF THE ANTI-VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT, BOX 2352 STATION D, OTTAWA, ONTARIO. 12 ISSUES \$1.00.

The Newsletter has appeared at all the various anti-Vietnam-war actions that have been held across the country since the March 26 March on Ottawa. A meeting held immediately after the demonstration decided on its publication and so far seven issues have come off the presses.

The Newsletter has kept on top of the various actions. It has played an instrumental role in popularizing the two key demands — Withdraw U.S. Troops Now, and End Canadian Complicity. It has done so in print, in a lasting form, and one that can reach out further than the voices of its orators. It has supplied necessary information and an element of co-ordination and direction to the whole movement. It has been a real builder of the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

This vital action has been carried by a relatively small number of people. Now everyone can get into the effort. The editors have just issued a call for a circulation drive. They seek to triple the present subscription base. Because the financial situation is tight and the campus section is dormant during December they have decided that now is the time. If you do not have a sub send one in now, along with a couple of subs from friends and shopmates.

The University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which sparked the Canada-wide November 11-12 actions, paid its tribute to the Newsletter by publishing in pamphlet form a series of articles that had appeared in it dealing with Canadian complicity.

A SOCIALIST MANIFESTO FOR THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY, PUBLISHED BY THE ALBERTA SOCIALIST CAUCUS IN THE NDP, OBTAINABLE FROM BOX 5765, EDMONTON, ALBERTA, 25 cents a copy.

Early last summer a group of socialists, concentrated largely in Edmonton, organized a caucus with the aim of building the NDP in Alberta and fighting for a socialist program within it. We published

the program that they had worked out in our August issue. Now an extensive preamble to the program, along with the program itself, has appeared in pamphlet form.

The preamble is a valuable and even essential part of the program. It not only makes the point that the inherent contradictions and injustices of capitalist society persist, and that socialism therefore not only remains on the agenda, but because of the inherent drive to war bringing us closer to the edge of nuclear destruction, is more than ever an urgent necessity.

Far from being hung-up with the pessimism that even permeates the so-called "progressives" the preamble is optimistic—it is convinced that the onrush of events is validating the socialist viewpoint and of necessity will win the Canadian workers to socialism.

They are without illusions as to the essential character of the NDP of which they are members. "The NDP is basically a reformist party," they say, "which particularly, insofar as its present leadership is concerned, goes no further than proposals confined to minor alterations in the capitalist system, and dedicated above all to the hopeless task of 'making capitalism work'."

"However," they note, "the party is based on the working class—the only class which has no stake in the continued existence of capitalism—and the trade unions. As such, the NDP represents an important step in the direction of a break with capitalist politics."

The document challenges all socialists to join and work for their ideas in the NDP. The caucus counterposes its concept of free, frank and principled action to the opportunistic approach based on the "assumption either that one can 'win the hearts' of the leaders, or that one take over their positions by personal intrigue". It upbraids those who think that the NDP is not sufficiently pure to merit their involvement, and it presents itself to the considerable number of isolated individuals who have often become demoralized and dropped away, as a force to bind together and organize socialists.

Those who missed our August issue containing the program will want a copy, but it is worth the price for the preamble alone.

Readers' Forum



Editor;

Regarding Canada's birthday in which we have all been asked to participate, my suggestion would be for the greedy merchants to take a little less profit for one year. But with the high cost of living and the junk they will be selling for souvenirs I can visualize them all singing "Happy Birthday Dear Canada, Happy Birthday to You," all the way to the bank.

Your last edition was marvellous. No other paper will dare to print the truth. Our Waterloo is coming, but you can't hear the warning siren for the noise of the ballyhoo and propaganda. Our recovery may take longer than Britain's as we don't have a Mr. Wilson to wake us up.

Our flag now proudly waves, our TV stations open up their day by playing our stirring national anthem on the organ; an instrument more suited for funerals than a birthday. Anyway we will be getting congratulations from U.S. What greater joy than this?

W. Rogers, Fort William, Ont.

P.S. Would you send a few copies of your last issue. I need five.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

Policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Sign-
es and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not
necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard

Subscription \$1.00 a year (12 issues)

Printed and published by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto.
Serialized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa,
and for payment of postage in cash

#124-Dec. 1966

Quebec LSO Forums Meet Good Response

The bi-weekly Montreal Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière Friday night forums are meeting a fine response. The LSO is the Quebec counterpart of the League for Socialist Action. Over thirty persons attended the forum on China's Red Guards addressed by Pat Mitchell.

The next forum dealt with the arrests and trial of several leaders of the Front de Liberation Québécois. Over the name of Charles Gagnon and Pierre Vallières, the FLQ recently launched an appeal for aid from the Québec union movement, UGEQ, the RIN, the PSQ, the PCQ, the LSO and others.

After outlining the history of the first FLQ in Québec in 1963, the youthful speaker placed the philosophy of the FLQ, which rejects parliamentary action and advocates guerrilla warfare, in its proper historical place, as a variant of anarch-

ist thought. Quotations from Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* were used to illustrate the distinction between the role played by the peasantry in Latin American countries and the decisively working class character of the coming struggle in Québec.

The speaker pointed out that while regrettable, the deaths brought about by FLQ actions were neither premeditated nor intentional. "It is the Vachons and the E. P. Taylors, together with their capitalist system of organized violence, who should be in the dock. The bloody suppression of the Asbestos strike of '49 and now of the revolutionary struggles in Vietnam are not accidental nor unforeseen. They are part and parcel of the violent system whose advocates express such shock over the FLQ."

The speaker protested the refusal of the state to treat the FLQers as political prisoners, and pledged the LSO's support for every effort to defend the FLQ's political rights.

The November 18 forum was on Black Power, the opening of a new stage in the U.S. Negro struggle. The December 9 forum, on Counter Revolution in Indonesia, was addressed by Michel Mill.

The October-November issue of *La Lutte Ouvrière* met a warm response at various meetings and events. Over 120 copies were sold to delegates at the CSN convention, more than 90 to participants in the rally in support of the Dominion Ayers strikers, and sales at the Université de Montréal are very good. A subscription to *La Lutte Ouvrière* can be obtained by sending \$1 for six issues to 66 rue Guilbault O., Montréal 18, Québec.

BEAT-UP BY HOOLIGANS



ERNEST TATE

LONDON — Ernest Tate, well known in London left circles, manager of the Pioneer Book Service, major supplier of Trotskyist literature in Great Britain, was savagely attacked and beaten November 17 while selling the magazine *International Socialist Review* and other pamphlets before a public meeting of the Socialist Labour League at Caxton Hall. Witnesses stated that they recognized the assailants as members of the Socialist Labour League. Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the SLL, appeared to be supervising the action personally. Tate was knocked to the pave-

ment and kicked in the genitals, head and kidneys, and his glasses smashed. He was taken directly to the hospital. Witnesses of the assault stopped the assailants as they continued to kick their victim lying helpless on the pavement.

This is the first time in decades that anybody has dared to attack the right of radicals to speak freely and sell their literature at all public functions. Previously only the Stalinists and the British fascist leader, Moseley, have dared to employ physical violence against radicals.

Tate is a leading member of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee which has led a courageous fight in Great Britain to arouse support for the National Liberation Front and North Viet Nam. He has also played an active role in the setting up of the War Crimes Tribunal to investigate the crimes committed in Viet Nam by American Imperialism.

News of the cowardly attack has spread through left circles and steps are being taken to expose this pattern of hooliganism and condemn it. Many messages of support have come to Tate.

Ernest Tate is well known by socialists across Canada and in particular in the Toronto and Vancouver areas. For almost a decade before going to England he played a prominent role in union and CCF-NDP circles and was a frequent speaker at League for Socialist Action forums.

Contact us

to know what socialists are
doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
Box 476

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

E4 1958-66

various X-DA
2D revisions - trustee campaign

no date
(edited letter
for high school
author?)

The automation revolution faces us today. Thousands
of jobs each week are lost to machines. Today's high school

students are tomorrow's work force. Tomorrow they will face

be confronted by

recurring job displacement and job retraining. They will need

a great deal of ^{flexibility} ~~skill~~ and technical skill to take their place

in a ^{world that is} changing ~~world~~ and must be completely reshaped to meet the needs of humanity first

Our educational system must prepare students to meet these changes. By and large, the policies of the other candidates would maintain the status quo - a horse and buggy educational system in a world of jet airliners and cosmonauts. Today's needs demand more than the present educational system can give.

It is necessary to expand school facilities, place greater emphasis on the sciences, make classrooms smaller to permit individual attention, and provide teachers with ^{staff} secretaries to release them from administrative details.

Education must now be the development of the creative abilities inherent in each student. Hence I call for ^{full} student participation in determining the conditions under which students will learn. ^{and prepare for the society of the future}

The history texts used in our schools do not present an accurate history of Canada. They are no more than an accumulation of incidents, dates and facts. Emphasis is placed on the roles of kings, queens and prime ministers while little mention is made of the working people who created our factories, railways, highways and modern buildings. Textbooks do not include the history of labor unions and the role they have played in developing our standard of living.

Only 17.6% of the University of Toronto student body are the sons and daughters of skilled and unskilled hourly-paid workers. ~~The~~ Our universities, financed by our taxes, should be open to all.

Most mothers of small children are unable to play a meaningful role in community life because adequate day-care nurseries do not exist. The community should provide public nurseries for all children in order to free these mothers.

There can be no talk of insufficient funds to meet these needs. There is no lack of funds for the arming of Canada with weapons of awesome destructive potential ^{and} with no defensive →
over

Whatever value. The needs of the people must come first. I pledge myself to work

for these changes and to serve the interests of the working people on the Board of Education as a representative of the voters of Ward 6

The Battle of Algiers – Movie Review

(Typed and handwritten text by R.D., undated, apparently unpublished, found in a 1958-1973 file, but certainly post-1964)

This film has the merit that it takes as its theme one of the crucial issues of our time – the colonial freedom struggle – in this case the titanic efforts of the Algerian people to rid themselves of French imperialist domination. It deals largely with one episode in the struggle in the city of Algiers. Using techniques that give it much of the on-the-spot immediacy of a documentary it places this episode in the whole of the conflict which ended in the winning of formal independence. It treats the revolutionists as men and women of the highest principles as dedicated and heroic, whose cause, even though they themselves are wiped out, nonetheless finally triumphs.

For these reasons to come away with mixed feelings, after having seen it is somewhat puzzling. The reason is, that despite all that it has in its favor, it is a fundamentally reactionary film.

Italian director Pontecorvo gives the film a let-the-facts-lead-where-they-will appearance of impartiality. He portrays the violent struggle of the revolutionists and the violence of the oppressor, (but) we are unable to judge his motives (or) the result of his studied non-partisanship. This even balancing of the struggle of the oppressed against those who stop at nothing to maintain their privileged positions are obvious. The overall impact is to repel the audience by the violence of both the revolution and of the counter-revolution which appears to be if not utterly senseless at least so horrifying that whatever the aim of either side, it is not worth it. This feeling of waste and utter futility is all the more heightened by the knowledge that the Algerian revolution today is stalemated and the French are re-establishing their positions.

It is not that Pontecorvo does not deal with fact or that his characters are in any way unreal, for they are real, including even the utterly ruthless paratrooper head and the magistrate who indulges on the side, with some drinking companions, in terror bombings.

There is just a total absence of some key facts – facts that would explain what makes the revolutionists (act) and what their aims are – and for that matter the social role of the general and his paratroops, regardless of their consciousness of their own role. At one point after the end of the main episode, for no apparent reason, we are told

(end of typed notes)

(Further handwritten notes:)

Algerians are not presented as being an exploited nation, nor the pied noirs (*occupiers*) as exploiters, on the contrary as human beings, not even as human beings conducting themselves in class interests – that is the role of the army. Of course the revolutionists (are portrayed as) heroic.

This film is a reactionary film – notwithstanding its presentation of the revolutionaries as men of the highest principles, heroic, dedicated and with some kind of ideal even if not spelled out.

This results from the total absence of ideology from the film. What are the aims of the revolutionists and for that matter the paratroop leader other than to stop the revolutionary terror? At one point after the end of the main episode and the popular struggle breaks out again for no apparent or explicable reason, we are told, a police official yells out what do you want and the reply is Freedom. But freedom from what and for what – this is not answered.

The role of French imperialism is nowhere revealed in the film – its seizure of the land, its impositions of a tyrannical regime that excludes Algerians from any role in the country but the most menial and brutalized labor. The only revolutionary leader we get to know at all becomes one because he sees a revolutionist shot while he is in prison on some petty charge. We only see the French occupiers as men and women, not as a privileged strata, parasites and exploiters – as instruments of imperialist exploitation. Even the brutal torture

(written text ends)

Fourth Intl. on the Crisis Inside China

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialism organized by Leon Trotsky, issued a statement on November 6 dealing with the Internal Crisis in China. Shortage of space limits us to reproducing only portions of the document which was published in full in the December 16 World Outlook.

The real question at issue is most certainly not the restoration of capitalism. What is involved essentially is an intra-bureaucratic conflict, affecting various layers, over what line to adopt in relation to the crucial issues of the present stage and to the long-range problems of perspective confronting the bureaucratic leadership at this stage . . .

The second wave of the "cultural revolution" and the formation of the Red Guards were the products of a situation of this nature within the party. In the face of resistance and hesitations of all kinds, the group assembled around Mao and Lin Biao decided to mobilize the masses partially and to gain a new instrument of pressure, capable of being used against a part of the apparatus of the party and the state. The decision was to take a distinctly limited sector—the student masses—with which the Mao group wanted to establish close relations and which it also considered it could control and channelize more easily . . .

In any case, the Mao leadership will emerge much weakened from this test. Up to now the masses saw it as homogeneous and strong, standing on the tradition of the victorious revolution. Now divisions have appeared openly and the wear and tear has proved to be serious. From now on, the leadership will be judged by the cadres in a much more critical and questioning spirit. This could facilitate the formation of a new vanguard.

As the Fourth International stressed from the time when first indications of the conflict between Moscow and Peking became manifest, the specific objective conditions in which it occurred impelled the Chinese leadership to adopt more progressive overall positions than the concepts of the CP of the USSR, a posture more likely to get a favorable response from the left-wing currents in the international workers movement. But since the Chinese leadership remained within the framework of a bureaucratic regime, its relatively more progressive positions could not go beyond certain limits; moreover at a given moment these progressive gestures tended inevitably to become dissipated and the Chinese bureaucracy could not avoid growing difficulties and a genuine impasse.

In the field of international policy, it was particularly in relation to the crisis in Indonesia and the course of the war in Vietnam that the Chinese positions underwent a severe test. The maintenance, despite criticisms levelled against Khrushchevism, of out-and-out opportunist orientations with regard to certain national bourgeoisies of the colonial or ex-colonial countries, and the determination to subordinate to a large degree the needs of the anti-capitalist struggle of the masses to the diplomatic needs of the state, unquestionably contributed to the tragic defeat of the Indonesian CP, the most faithful ally of the Chinese CP for a number of years.

The rejection, a priori, of a united front with the USSR and the other workers states on the Vietnam war seriously injured the cause of the National Liberation Front and the defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and, in the final analysis, of the Chinese People's Republic itself, threatened as it likewise is by imperialist aggression.

Growing Isolation

All of this—together with the utilization of odious methods of pressure and even blackmail (for instance, on the matter of rice for Cuba, and the reprisals against the Japanese CP)—contributed in a decisive way

(See page 4)



External Affairs Minister Paul Martin's office was well aware that the U.S. was bombing central areas of Hanoi as early as December 13. On that day the headquarters of the Canadian permanent delegation in Hanoi suffered bomb damage. One of the five Canadians, according to New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury in his dispatch from Hanoi of January 8, sent some of the bomb fragments back to U.S. headquarters in Saigon with a note: "Look here chaps, this is getting a little bit too much."

Lies on Bombings Shock the World, Ottawa Hid Facts

Harrison Salisbury's reports from Hanoi, affirming that the U.S. is bombing civilian targets in North Vietnam have shocked millions throughout the world who still had some confidence in the word of President Johnson and his military and Democratic party advisors. The New York Times reports have discredited all those who have been defending the murderous war of aggression that the U.S. rulers are waging against the freedom struggle of the people of Vietnam.

The U.S. officialdom has been caught in the glaring light of world public opinion trying to pass off the crudest of lies. Under the widening arc of the truth, they have retreated. But only from confessing to one lie in order to try to establish

another as the truth.

The cascading, the compounding of one lie upon another, this monstrous contradiction between truth and lie is now being passed off by those who defend U.S. policy regardless—as the "credibility gap." They fear that having come to understand the lie on this phase of the conduct of the

war in Vietnam, that the people of the entire world, and particularly of the United States, will come to understand that it is a lie that the U.S. is defending democracy there, that it is a lie that the U.S. is there to halt aggression, etc., and that—the whole thing is a lie.

(See page 2)

"Unionists, Protest!"

VANCOUVER — The imprisoned secretary of the Vancouver Labour Council (CLC-AFL-CIO), C. P. (Paddy) Neale, urges "all trade union leaders in Canada to join the crusade against the war in Vietnam." He did so through a letter read to the mass meeting held here on December 9 by the Vietnam Day Committee to hear the former "Green Beret" U.S. Marine Master Sgt. Donald Duncan.

Neale is one of four BC trade union leaders serving sentences from three to six months for violating a strikebreaking injunction at the Lenkurt plant this Spring. The following message was read to periodic outbursts of applause from the audience of 700 to 800 persons.

"I don't think it necessary for me to inform you of my complete opposition to the vicious, undeclared war in Vietnam; a war in which young American boys are being forced against their will to slaughter innocent women and children in a foreign country thousands of miles away from their homeland, for reasons that are only obvious to the Political, Military and Financial leaders of the U.S.A.

"There is no doubt in my mind that history will record this wanton destruction of a small nation by the most powerful military force the world has ever known as being on a par with the worst atrocities ever committed by any country. The American people will never be able to live this down even though many thousands of them are opposed to the establishment's aims and objectives.

"Needless to say, I wish your committee and all others much success in the continuing fight to bring the American Government to their senses. I would like to congratulate Mr. Donald Duncan for having the courage to speak out against this senseless slaughter and to do all he can to show the world that they are being fed a pack of lies about the whole situation in Vietnam. You know it takes a lot more courage for an American to speak out against the injustice of this aggression than it does for us in Canada and I would hope that all those attending the rally realize this.

"I close by urging all trade union leaders in Canada to join the crusade against this war, not only because we are opposed to violence, not only because this is one of the rottenest acts of aggression ever perpetrated, but because it is the workers who suffer in every war. It is the sons of workers who are forced to fight sons of workers while the rich man's sons get deferments and the rich man gets richer.

"Keep up the good fight and rest assured that all four of us are with you in spirit."



Vol. 11, No. 5 (125), January, 1967



Toronto—10 Cents

"Open the Books" for the Truth about Prices

Prices, the cost of living, took another leap to hit 145.9 on the consumer price index, to make December 1966 3.6 per cent higher than December 1965. But the shoppers protest movement, which two months ago appeared to be developing along militant lines, promising effective action to restrain and even halt the accelerating robbery of the weekly pay envelope, has got bogged down—at least temporarily.

The prices ppp program capable of uniting their forces, of building them and projecting them forward in struggle. While the trade union movement and the New Democratic party have the means and the responsibility they have failed to get really behind the movement, build it, and give it the direction that it requires. Those who thought that a few protest picket line demonstrations in front of the shopping plazas would bring down prices, who urged shoppers to switch from the big chains to the small independents, or advocated boycotts against certain select commodities, soon found they were getting nowhere. A few efforts to launch modest consumers' goods co-operatives such as at Deux Montagnes, just outside Montreal, immediately came up against a solid refusal of wholesalers to service them and were smashed.

All these varied propositions acted upon by indignant housewives across the country, some propositions combined with others, evoked a massive counterattack from the profit-gorged monopolistic food producers, packers and distributors, blared out and insinuated over every medium of communication.

The main instrument for this assault on the housewives, strange enough, was one supposedly shaped to serve as an aid to the price tester—the Senate-commons consumer credit committee and the government's longstanding Consumers Association of Canada.

Back in Mid-October, NDP leader T. C. Douglas revealed two very grave limitations of the committee: (1) — it has no power to examine the books of the various

companies, and, (2)—its members do not have the time to conduct the kind of investigation that needs to be carried on continuously. Using the fact that the committee, well stacked with Liberal and Tory M.P.'s and senators, refused to call before it the automobile monopolists to justify their price hoists, Douglas declared that the committee was "being used as a smokescreen."

The NDP was therefore faced with the alternative of either withdrawing its members from the committee, and thereby exposing it as a pawn of the Big Business interests—or remaining on it to persistently present its own demands and mobilize the protest movement through delegations and deputations to supplement the actions of its members on the committee.

The NDP parliamentary caucus did neither. They remained on the committee and passively conformed to its limitations, thereby becoming part of the smokescreen. They ac-

cepted without protest committee counsel John J. Urie's declaration that as far as the hearings were concerned there would be "no question of invasion of privacy"—that is—no serious investigation of pricing mechanisms and the profit structure of the food processing, packing and distributing corporations, no real revelations of their connections with one other and with the dominant financial institutions—that their business secrets would not be bared to the public.

They went along with co-chairman S. R. Badford's defence of the right of such corporations as Dominion Stores to keep their business secrets, since such private companies as the T. Eaton company do so by law, and his assurance to corporation heads that even such information as was available to the committee would not be made public.

The interim report of the Senate-

(Continued on page 3)



Van. Mayoralty Fight

VANCOUVER — The mayoralty campaign waged by Young Socialist Forum and the League for Socialist Action was the most successful attempt to get socialist ideas to new people in a number of years. In the course of the campaign, the socialist position on everything from the war in Vietnam to downtown redevelopment was heard on radio and TV and printed in the daily press. Although she did not get nearly as much time as the two big business candidates, Jean Rands was on radio for a total of nearly seven hours, on TV for nearly one hour—and the phone-in programs are still debating the pros-and-cons of a Marxist running for mayor.

The success of the campaign can be measured partly by the reaction of the conservatives. There is a great deal of distress at the thought that someone who came out clearly as a socialist could get 6,494 votes or 7.4% of the total cast in Vancouver.

The publicity around the question of Vietnam, which Jean Rands raised, made her campaign one of the most significant expressions of opposition to the war there that this country has seen.

The fact that a young socialist ran against two millionaires, and constantly exposed her opponents as representatives of the small minority who grow wealthy from real estate speculation and from the housing shortage, had an impact on the whole pre-election discussion in Vancouver. The daily press was full of ads and editorials complaining that it isn't fair to exclude someone from public office just because he is rich.

The call for an NDP civic slate and an end to the fraud that civic issues aren't political raised by the Rands campaign led to a thorough exposure of the connection of civic politicians—particularly Rathie and Campbell—with the big business political machines. For days the headlines reported Premier Bennett's endorsement of Rathie, Campbell's eulogies of Bennett, and the Liberals' endorsement of Campbell.

The NDP leadership came under considerable pressure when Jean Rands, who called for an NDP civic government, asked for their endorsement. A meeting of the table officers of the provincial NDP was called to issue a statement on the mayoralty contest. The statement declared that Rands, with her outstanding record of support of the NDP, "has no more reason to ask NDP endorsement than Rathie or Campbell."

The Citizens for the Improvement of Vancouver, a group of NDPers who ran four candidates for city council, took a vicious red-baiting line against the Rands campaign. They were outraged that the "Rands for Mayor" leaflet projected, with the six candidates endorsed by the Labor Council, including the four

CIV candidates, a labor administration for city hall. They headlined their leaflets and newspaper ads with a statement of endorsement from Pat McGeer, a prominent Liberal.

Although aldermanic candidates Harry Rankin and Otto Johnson were also endorsed by the Labor Council, the CIV told their supporters who had 10 votes to cast, to "vote four—no more". They declared they did not need a majority since they could work quite well with the candidates of the Non-Partisan Association (representatives of big business in Vancouver).

When asked about Rankin, who was considered to have the best chance of any of the pro-labor candidates, they denounced him as a communist.

At an all-candidates meeting sponsored by the Vancouver East NDP, the CIV candidates made it clear that they were not supporting either Jean Rands or Harry Rankin. The response from the audience to the call for unity by Rankin, and the call for an NDP slate by Rands, was such that Norman Levi, candidate for alderman and president of the BC NDP, declared that the NDP would run a full slate on the party label in the next election. But not before he attacked the youthful Jean Rands with the snide comment that she should be running after boys, not the mayoralty.

Harry Rankin was elected easily. He came third out of ten elected to council. The most successful of the CIV candidates ran thirteenth, with about 27,000 votes. The vote showed the potential for NDP participation in civic politics, but it also showed that their sectarianism didn't help them.

If they had responded favorably to Rankin's call for unity it is possible that there would now be a pro-labor majority at City Hall.

Although the response to plant-gate distributions of the campaign leaflet was good, the official trade union movement also maintained a position of neutrality on the election of Vancouver's mayor. The Marine Workers and Boiler Makers Union urged support for Jean Rands, but when it came to the Labor Council the executive's position of refusing to support anyone was hardly challenged. This was in spite of the fact that, as the daily press pointed out, on the two major issues put forward by Rands—opposition to the war in Vietnam and opposition to the anti-labor drive—the Labor Council agreed with her program.

The result of the lack of significant labor or NDP intervention in the elections was that only 34% of those eligible actually voted, compared with 39% in 1964. There was no significant protest vote. The Non-Partisan Association emerged with

8 out of 10 council seats, compared to 7 in the last council.

The fact that the NDP did not provide a viable alternative in this election meant that the majority of workers felt they had no one to vote for. The campaign to elect Jean Rands, the interest it roused, its effective exposure of the connection of Rathie and Campbell to the big business parties, and the raising of trade union and political issues throughout the campaign should result in pushing the NDP into action on the municipal level next election.

At an all-candidates meeting, Norman Levi told east side voters that they had the civic government they deserved because they didn't vote in sufficient numbers. It would be more accurate to say that east side voters, who vote NDP provincially and federally, have the civic government which Mr. Levi and his colleagues have forced on them.



#125-Jan. 1967

Temp
Withheld

2x

JEAN RANDS

#125 - Jan 1967

Cuba Panel Opens Fair Play for '67

By Jaqule Henderson

Over seventy people packed a room in Toronto's Westbury Hotel January 8 to hear four panelists on the topic "Where is Cuba heading?" It was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's first activity of the new year. The panelists included Ian

Lumsden, recently returned from Cuba and doing his PhD on Castro's ideology, Carmen Guild, assistant warden at U. of T's Hart House and anti-Vietnam war activist; Henry Tarvainen, a student who visited Cuba in 1966 as part of the Canadian Union of Students' Tour; and Peter Horbatiuk who visited Cuba in 1965 and travelled extensively through South-east Asia, India, Europe and the Soviet Union.

One of the most controversial discussions centered around the effect moral incentives in industry, as opposed to material incentives, have in shaping the future of Cuba. Peter Horbatiuk maintained this was an important question because it greatly affects the forming of the "new socialist man" that Che Guevara describes in his essay *Socialism and Man*. Horbatiuk said that the use of moral incentives was a step forward to creating a new human behavior.

All the panelists were impressed by Cuba's atmosphere of freedom in the arts, Henry Tarvainen spent much of his time in Cuba with art students studying on government scholarships. He said he was impressed by their continual eagerness to discuss controversial questions, especially around the nature and purpose of art in different societies, and the question of "socialist realism".

Some panelists criticised the lack of real freedom of the press in Cuba. It was stated that while controversy on many questions was prevalent throughout intellectual circles in Cuba, this atmosphere was not reflected in the press. Ian Lumsden remarked that not only were there no publications of varying tendencies within Cuba, but also there were no revolutionary or leftist publications from other Latin American countries.

The panelists did not agree on where Cuba will stand ten years from now, but Lumsden made the point that it will depend on what other revolutions take place in the world and particularly in Latin America. He added he did not think there would be any, in Latin America at least.

It was announced FPCC is planning several activities for 1967 and that the next will be the annual membership meeting. The speaker will be Regula Modlich now touring Cuba as a guest of the Cuban people.

Cross Country With the NDP

The Gallup Poll continues to register rising popular support for the NDP. According to one Toronto daily three of the provincial premiers, faced with elections sometime this year, are intending to hold them roughly on the same date in the hope that NDP electioneering forces will be spread so thin this support will not be registered in the ballot boxes.

The question—which party do you think would be best for people like yourself? was asked in 1963 and again early this month. During this period the Liberal Party dropped 5% to register 24, the Conservatives dropped 11% to register 15 and the NDP picked up 9% to register 17. The number of persons who could not say rose 12% to 37—and now stands at 47% in Quebec.

In the West, with 22%, the NDP is neck and neck with the Liberals. In Ontario the NDP has 20%, to the Liberals' 26% and the Tories' (now in office) 16%.

To what can we attribute this growth in party support? In a recent interview, the head of Silverwoods, Canada's No. 1 dairy products monopoly, attributed his "success" not to any get-up-and-go, or particular ingenuity on his part, but to the fact that he happened to be there. He professed to be essentially conservative, satisfied and disinterested in growth, and proclaimed that at no time did he seek it. Having once reached a certain point it was thrust upon him by others. He might have said that he was a success thanks to the laws governing capitalism, first clearly defined by Marx.

So too the present NDP leadership. The growth in party support cannot be attributed to any of their policies. The labor party is here and performs a great historic need. The continuing crisis of the Liberal and Tory parties is inevitably increasing the ranks of the undecided and resulting in a widening sympathy and interest in the NDP.

The question confronting the party is—how to consolidate this growing sympathy, how to firm it up so it can withstand the blasts of a Big Business election campaign? The answer is to develop a clear and distinctive program—something the brass have been steadily moving away from.

* * *

A quick protest by the Ontario NDP Socialist Caucus and the NDY Left Caucus has encouraged the Ontario NDP provincial council to repudiate expulsions initiated in the name of the Ottawa Center Constituency executive.

Last week five leading activists were informed of their expulsion under a constitutional clause that bars membership to a member of an opponent political party. But following a protest meeting held during its sessions the provincial council claimed that the applications for 1967 membership had been held up because the riding vice-president, who accepted them, had not signed his name on the sponsor's line.

All five are well known as opponents of the war in Vietnam. One of them—Jeff White—is the editor of the *Canada Vietnam Newsletter*. Did the top brass, sensing mounting concern over their silence on

Vietnam, hope to use this as a warning of what will happen to those demanding they speak out? If so, it would seem to have boomeranged.

* * *

A motion to exclude members of the League for Socialist Action from the youth movement of the Alberta section of the New Democratic Party was defeated at the November 18-19 convention of the Alberta New Democratic Youth, held in Edmonton.

Almost four years ago, following an orgy of red-baiting and expulsions, the League for Socialist Action was proscribed by the Ontario and British Columbia brass of the NDP. Anyone admitting to membership in the LSA is automatically subject to expulsion from the Ontario and B.C. sections.

Supporters of a resolution that came before the Alberta convention attacked the LSA as a distinct political party separate and apart from the NDP, and as advocating a political viewpoint in opposition to what they considered to be firmly established, and in a sense immutable, positions of the party.

The motion to expel LSAers was decisively defeated, with a considerable number of delegates abstaining. Ken Novakowski, re-elected as provincial president, closed the sometimes sharp debate with a statement that expulsions were not the way to handle such matters as they would not defeat the LSA. He urged an educational campaign against the LSA and, should this fail, he said, then perhaps their ideas are right.

ished monthly by The Workers Vanguard Publish-
g Assoc., 1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

policy of **The Workers Vanguard** is reflected in its
erials. Signed articles and features express the ideas
ar contributors and do not necessarily represent the
ies or opinion of **The Workers Vanguard**.

Subscription \$1.00 a year (12 issues)

horized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa,
and for payment of postage in cash.



GEORGE NOVACK

Vanguard Fri. Forum a Real Toronto Event

George Novack, eminent U.S. socialist scholar, Pat Mitchell, organizer of the Quebec Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Hans Blumenfeld, internationally known architect, town planner and urban economist, Ken Warren, chief publicist in Canada of the Bertrand Russell-initiated War Crimes Tribunal, Jan Carew of Guyana, government economist under the Nkrumah regime. These past, present, and future speakers, along with others, are what makes the Friday night Toronto Vanguard forum one of the most stimulating events in town.

Problems of Alienation in a Modern Society was the theme of

George Novack's contribution to the packed Vanguard forum of November 11. The day before, in the course of a cross-Canada speaking tour, Mr. Novack addressed one of the largest University of Toronto campus audiences of the term. Some 450 students and a sprinkling of prominent faculty members attended his address on Existentialism, Jean-Paul Sartre and Marxism, sponsored by the University College Literature Society.

The following forum was organized as a demonstration of solidarity of the English-speaking Canadian left with the Quebec Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Its Montreal headquarters had been raided by the police some days earlier. Under the pretext of searching for arms the police held the occupants of the headquarters incommunicado and finally left with files and mailing lists. LSO organizer Pat Mitchell was guest speaker, and while every effort was made to assure the participation of speakers representing the Communist Party and the Progressive Workers Movement, they failed to show. Ross Dowson addressed the forum on behalf of the League for Socialist Action and Jaquie Henderson on behalf of the Young Socialist Forum.

A Marxist View on Town Planning was the subject of Hans Blumenfeld's contribution to the December 9 forum. This forum attracted a considerable number of professional persons who know Blumenfeld as a consultant to the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, a lecturer at the University of Toronto, and an international authority in this field, as well as an active participant in the anti-war movement.

The January 6th forum was addressed by Ken Warren on the significance of the War Crimes Tribunal to the fight against the war in Vietnam. Jan Carew will speak on Neocolonialism and Guyana on the 20th of January. The Vanguard Forum is held every Friday evening at 1 Cumberland Street, the first street north of Bloor, off Yonge, at 8 o'clock.

ALBERTA JOINS WIDENING DEMAND THAT PERUVIAN GOV'T GRANT

Amnesty for Blanco!

By John Wilson

Joining the deepening international campaign to save the life of Hugo Blanco, 32 prominent political, anti-war and academic figures in Alberta have demanded that Blanco and his companions be freed. In a strongly-worded petition sent to Peru's President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, they stated:

"... The death of Hugo Blanco will not stop social change in Peru. His death would, however, brand his executioners as bereft of humanity and sanity. Only fear would drive anyone to the insane conclusion that Blanco's death will halt social movement in Peru. Do not allow Peru to be disgraced by the wanton murder of a man who has desired only that justice be done the people of Peru.

"Free Hugo Blanco and his companions."

Signatories include the top leadership of the Alberta Young New Democrats, P. Quinlan, editor of *Alberta Labor*, organ of the Alberta Federation of Labor (CLC-AFL-CIO), the entire executive of the University of Alberta Vietnam Action Committee, Professor R. Furcht, chairman of the Edmonton CEWV, and U. of A. professors Charles Nunn and Kenneth Mills.

The Alberta protest is but one example of how the international campaign in behalf of Hugo Blanco has continued to rally new support.

In Scotland, the Glasgow Trades Council unanimously passed the following motion:

"This meeting demands that the Government of Peru immediately release Hugo Blanco, leader of the peasant revolutionary movement in Peru, and his comrades from prison."

In France, the Catholic group of the School of Higher Education and the Standing Board of the Student Mission wired the Peruvian president demanding amnesty. Thirty-one prominent Parisian architects also sent a telegram to the same effect. Also from Paris, 70 resident Peruvian citizens cabled Belaúnde Terry

demanding amnesty, as well as 32 Latin American artists, writers and poets who sent a similar message. Telegrams were sent by the French Committee for Solidarity with the People of Latin America, the French Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru, and the International League for the Rights of Man.

In Sweden, the government planned a ceremony at the university town of Upsala, where a princess was to officiate in granting \$75,000 for construction of a school in Peru. Because of widespread indignation caused by the death threat against Blanco, the Peruvian ambassador chickened out. He sent a subordinate. This official was met by a huge street demonstration carrying banners that read, "Freedom for Hugo Blanco." The students shouted "Fascist!" at the diplomat. The papers published pictures of the princess, on the run, with students close behind shouting in favor of Blanco.

Despite a press blackout and political repression, Peruvian supporters of Blanco are making determined efforts to save his life. In Lima, in an attempt to break through the blackout, a crowd of women blocked traffic on Arequipa Avenue, in front of Channel 5 television station. A big success, the demonstration completely clogged the narrow street for some time.

A group of women also succeeded in visiting Hugo Blanco in El Frontón on his birthday, bringing food and presents. They also serenaded him with guitars. Prison inmates were reported deeply moved by this demonstration.

Despite formidable obstacles, including lack of funds and personnel (many leaders are still imprisoned) and government witchhunt, Hugo Blanco's supporters in Peru are working on an emergency basis to build the largest possible protest.

They are heartened by what is being done internationally and ask

that it be continued and extended.

We again urge that telegrams and protest letters demanding *immediate amnesty* be sent to the Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar, Lima, Peru. Similar appeals should be

cabled to President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru, and copies of these airmailed to Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola, 966; Oficina 215, Lima, Peru.

Sartre Solidarizes with Blanco

Jean-Paul Sartre, the main speaker at the huge meeting sponsored by the War Crimes Tribunal in Paris, November 28, against the war in Vietnam, went out of his way to express solidarity with Hugo Blanco, who is threatened with death. The following is the text of his remarks on this point:

"The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the main combat being carried on today against American imperialism. It is not the only one. In Peru, the former student and great peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, is threatened with being shot any day.

"His crime: to have unionized the most poverty-stricken rural area of the country for the first time. Unionized and educated, the peasants began to recuperate the land which the big landowners had stolen from them; and began demanding a better standard of living. Their movement ran up against the 'democracy' of the military—*violence*.

"Hundreds of peasants were massacred, and, in the struggle, three policemen were killed. It is for the death of these puppets that Blanco must now 'pay'.

"Imprisoned in 1963, tried in September, 1966, condemned to 25 years in prison by a military tribunal, the judgment is being reconsidered right now. A month after the meeting of the heads of the inter-American armies in Buenos Aires—the armed forces seek his death.

"Hugo Blanco was not an armed combatant—his movement was purely unionist. He should not have been tried by a military tribunal but by a civilian court . . .

"The sentence demanded against Hugo Blanco (and the comrades imprisoned with him who have asked to share his fate) would constitute a series of judicial murders perpetuated against the peasants' and workers' union leaders, and threatens all Peruvians who seek a genuine change in their country."

February 23, 1967

P. (2)
Dear Dick

Well, Gus arrived today from Hanoi and intervening points. He looks well and obviously had a very good experience. He actually arrived yesterday at 6 but I only met him as a journalist at the press interview and after that ushered him off home with Julie to renew acquaintanceship. He got a bit of coverage on both TV stations and it seems certain that he will be on the big CBC Sunday show--I gather they have a couple of Vietnam films and are locking him in with them. Be sure to tell the comrades to watch this Sunday show.

We will be having a meeting on Saturday to get a report in depth. At this time we are unable to determine just what time he will be able to give to say a tour--or series of meetings. He had to resign from his job but it looks like he will be able to switch back to psychiatry. As you can imagine they have no money and Julie is expecting within the next month. He has already made his disposition with the War Crimes Tribunal, is booked in at the March 11th meeting here in Toronto and he has started to write up some of his impressions which we will integrate with those of a Japanese comrade who was in Vietnam on the first team and an economist of some stature.... and prepare for publication, possibly as a pamphlet.....

Glad to hear that you are really looking forward to your trip to Cuba. I see the latest WOutlook affirms the ~~anonymous~~ report of Regual that Radio Havana in its rebroadcast of Fidel's Tricontinental Congress speech skipped over the attack on Sosa, Trotskyism and MR. Gus had a very good impression of the Cubans he met in Hanoi--the Cuban government has maintained a War Crimes Investigation Committee which keeps Cuban informed, including the government no doubt. Do you see the English edition of Granma? We are getting it regularly via air. If you do not see it tell me and I will send you some recent copies so you get the feel of things there before heading off. If Allan is not getting it at the store he should write in for it.

Enjoyed my stay in Vancouver very much although it was rather rushed and so I had little time to really talk to anyone. The tour is not finished yet. We delayed going into Ottawa because of the expulsions but now I have agreed to go ~~xxxxx~~ March 16-17-18. The situation is quite good in Edmonton. Even though Dick and Colwyn will be pulling out as soon as the school term ends it is apparent that we will be able to carry on. We have recruited a couple of very good students and it seems certain that they will hold. The public meeting I thought was a good one. About 20-25 turned up at the Corona Hotel. We are hoping to widen our connections through the coming big show-convention of the Alta NDP. The caucus is very week--revolves around us largely but it seems certain that it will pick up some good connections. We had a good meeting in Saskatoon. From a public point of view the big success was the McGill Socialist Club meeting. About 50 attended--the biggest that they have had this term and all the left wingers were jubilant for they say I mopped the floor with one of the chief anti-Trotskyists in the NDP-NDY--a fellow by the name of Lenihan. Really I didn't do much--in fact he did the job on himself. Of course the main purpose of the tour was not public propaganda but to ~~xxxxx~~ have discussions with comrades about problems of the movement. And we are off again. After the March action ArtY and Penny will be going to Montreal. Pat feels that she is unable to function as organizer for a period because Peter is ~~xxx~~ requiring her help. He has been improving lately but requires attention. There

is another aspect to it, and that is that the very successes in Montreal which we must attribute to Pat above all have resulted in our growing out of her. We need in the most pressing way a fairly sophisticated comrade who can learn to speak French. Unfortunately despite all her efforts Pat ~~can~~ not only cannot speak it but is still unable to hear it--which is much worse. Art is convinced that he will be fluent in French in a short while--so we are going to continue our colonizing process

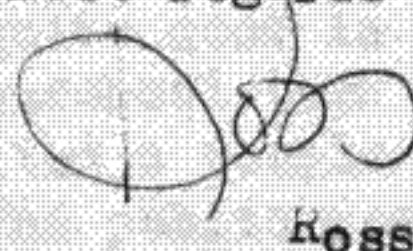
Tomorrow we will be running the first portion of our paper on our own press. I have managed to get ~~an~~ single page insert all laid out and a negative made for Harry to run this weekend on our big press. In other words we have worked out nearly all the technical problems for the rest of the paper and I will be trying to finish up the rest of the copy for the ~~ly~~notyper over the weekend. I have never laid in a paper for offset reproduction before. It is very interesting and for the first time quite time consuming. But from here on in I think that it will be no trouble at all. I am looking forward to see what kind of print job Harry can do. We have also laid out the French version of Trotsky's very excellent speech on the Russian Revolution to the students of Copenhagen University. We want this for this years Trailblazer effort. Another thing we settled in Montreal. This next Trailblazer tour will be Quebecois. We will have enough comrades who speak French to make up the tour and enable it to concentrate in Quebec, possibly spending a little time in the Maritimes. Comrades are going to arrange their holidays so that they can spend two weeks on the project. We have already put out a French version of that mimeographed pamphlet we published--Marx and Engels on the Labor Party. Pat feels sure that the Montreal Vietnam committee will be putting out something in French so we will be all set.

How did the Dellinger project come off and did we manage to carry through with Lens and some kind of Trade union conference?

Re the money you are so good as to offer to loan us. We are tight right now and could use a little spare money. Not suprising of course because we are on the eve of the financial drive and we have always lived up to the hilt. If you can loan us \$1,000 it would be convenient for us, not necessary, but convenient. If you did so as soon as the drive got underway I would put it aside for purely emergency purposes--so in a sense Dick I am leaving it up to you. I do not see that you should go to any trouble, liquidate any of your bonds or however you have your most accessible money

When do you leave for Cuba? Of course you must drop off and meet our comrades in Mexico. They always look forward to meeting any of us.

warmest regards



Ross

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL weekend

Canada: Past, Present, Future

Saturday

The Struggle for Canadian Democracy

*Our revolutionary tradition-
Mackenzie - Papineau - Riel
The rise of the CIO- and the
next giant step-- Socialism.*

Speaker: Harry Kopyto

The Forward March of Labor

*The rise of Canadian unions,
the Winnipeg General Strike
and the coming of the CIO.
Labor and politics and the
march to power.*

Speaker: Ross Dowson

Sunday

Who Rules Canada and How

*The myth of the affluent and classless
society. Elite or class? The state and
its role in the power struggle.*

Speaker: John Riddell

The Road to Socialism

*The New Left-the students, intellectuals
and working class as forces for change.
The NDP and the socialists. Canada in a
world in transition.*

Speaker: Art Young

FEB. 26-27

REGISTRATION SAT. MORNING 10:00 a.m.
SOCIAL SATURDAY EVENING 8:30 p.m.

Teamsters Hall

95 Trinity St.

Jointly sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist Forum.

BASIC SOCIALIST READING LIST

Like any study, you should approach the study of Marxism in an organized manner. You should plan a reading schedule and then keep to it diligently. To facilitate this the list is marked off as A's, B's, C's and D's. The letters simply denote the order the works should be read in. Thus if you have not read many of these works before, you should plan to read all the A's. This would include 20 basic works. In a six month period you would only have to read 9 pages a day to finish the A's. The A's and B's would require a schedule of 19 pages a day. The complete list could be read at 50 pages a day. The key is to decide how much you can read and then stick to it.

Introductory Material

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Socialism on Trial - Cannon | A |
| 2. Communist Manifesto - Marx and Engels | A |
| 3. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific - Engels | A |
| 4. America's Road to Socialism - Cannon | A |
| 5. Communist Manifesto Today - Trotsky | A |

Historical Materialism and Dialectics

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism - Warde | A |
| 2. Materialist Conception of History - Plekhanov | B |
| 3. Role of the Individual - Plekhanov | B |
| 4. Ludwig Feuerbach - Engels | B |
| 5. Origins of Materialism - Warde | C |
| 6. Anti-Duehring - Engels | C |
| 7. Materialism and Empirio-Criticism - Lenin | D |
| 8. German Ideology - Marx | D |
| 9. Their Morals and Ours - Trotsky | A |

The State

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Critique of the Gotha Program - Marx | A |
| 2. State and Revolution - Lenin | A |
| 3. In Defense of Marxism - Trotsky | B |
| 4. Origins of the Family - Engels | C |

Vanguard Party

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. History of American Trotskyism - Cannon | A |
| 2. Transitional Program - Trotsky | A |
| 3. Struggle for a Proletarian Party - Cannon | B |
| 4. One Step forward Two Steps Back - Lenin | B |
| 5. What is to be Done - Lenin | B |
| 6. Left Wing Communism - Lenin | B |
| 7. First Ten Years of American Communism - Cannon | D |

Permanent Revolution

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. In Defense of October - Trotsky | A |
| 2. Address to the Communist League - Marx | A |
| 3. Theory of the Cuban Revolution - Hansen | B |
| 4. The Permanent Revolution - Trotsky | C |
| 5. 18th Brumaire - Marx | C |

Reading list - 2

Reformism and Bureaucracy

1. Reform or Revolution - Luxemburg
2. Revolution Betrayed - Trotsky
3. Kirov Assassination - Trotsky
4. Stalinism and Bolshevism - Trotsky
5. Renegade Kautsky - Lenin
6. Third International after Lenin - Trotsky
7. Trade Unions - Trotsky
8. Sectarianism and Bureaucracy - Castro

A
A
A
A
B
B
B
C

Economics

1. Wage Labour and Capital - Marx
2. Value Price and Profit - Marx
3. Imperialism - Lenin
4. Critique of Political Economy - Marx
5. Capital, Volume I - Marx

A
A
A
C
D

Others

1. Fascism - Trotsky
2. Whither Germany (3 pamphlets) - Trotsky
3. My Life - Trotsky
4. Problems of Life - Trotsky
5. Civil War in France - Marx
6. Class Struggle in France - Marx
7. Whither France - Trotsky
8. The New Course - Trotsky
9. Lenin on the Woman Question
10. Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial
11. Notebook of an Agitator - Cannon
12. Marx-Engels Correspondence
13. History of the Russian Revolution

A
A
B
B
C
C
C
C
C
C
C
D
C

© - The History can be considered A but it is quite large and has to be planned separately from the other works.

SILENT ON CIA-RCMP CORRUPTION OF YOUTH

by John Wilson

A major scandal has erupted in the United States following new disclosures of the activities of the already notorious Central Intelligence Agency. In addition to attempting to subvert student organizations, allegedly respectable foundations, unions, and even some "socialist" organizations in the U.S., it has been revealed that at least one Canadian student organization received funds from a CIA source. This agency of the U.S. capitalist government, not content in engaging in wars, coups, intrigue and murder abroad, in the interest of furthering the "anti-communist" crusade, is demonstrated to be attempting on a truly massive scale to infiltrate, corrupt and control a host of supposedly democratic domestic organizations.

The most recent issue of *Ramparts* magazine shows how for over a

decade the CIA used the National Student Association (NSA) to spread "anti-communist" propaganda, gather intelligence information and fight "pro-communist" student organizations. Over this period an average of 25% of the NSA's budget — or \$200,000 per year — was provided by this source!

Only a few select top officers of the student organization were let in on the deal. Their silence was guaranteed by having them sign a document pledging them to secrecy — under pain of a possible 20-year prison sentence — and which made them employees of the federal spy agency. While most of the CIA's efforts in NSA were concentrated on the organization's foreign activities and policy (including spying activity among students living abroad) there

(See page 2)

WORKERS
Vanguard

#126 Feb. 1967

OTTAWA'S SILENCE ABOUT CIA

(Continued from page 1)

was considerable interference in the NSA's domestic internal workings, including the selection of leadership candidates.

Shortly after the storm broke in the United States, it became readily apparent that Canadian students had every reason to be directly concerned with not only this scandalous trampling on democratic rights by the CIA in the United States, but about the CIA's possible operations in Canada.

Michael Wood, a former U.S. student leader, revealed that the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) had received money from the Foundation of Youth and Student Affairs in New York, a CIA front organization.

This was confirmed by CUS president Douglas Ward, who stated that his organization had received two grants of \$1,500 in 1965-66 from the Foundation. However, he stated, "It didn't do them much good." It seems the money was used to organize seminars on international affairs. It was out of such conferences, reported Ward, that a decision to break with the CIA-financed International Student Conference came because the ISC was "too involved in the Cold War."

Ward said that until very recently CUS was unaware of the CIA financing of these organizations although they had suspected that something was fishy "but it was something a lot of us couldn't put our finger on."

It is something that the Pearson government is still not interested in putting its finger on, obviously. The February 21 *Globe and Mail* reported that Pearson believes that "so far" he has no information to "warrant" a protest to the U.S. about the CIA's activities such as that demanded by CUS.

As a cold war "ally" of the United States, Mr. Pearson may well have no reason to protest the CIA's operations in Canada; it is a little much to ask us to believe that his government doesn't have the "information" on whether or not Canadian students are knowingly or unknowingly working for the CIA, or what link-ups exist between the CIA and "our" own federal snoopers.

CUS also asked for the government's assurance that the RCMP is not engaged in similar activities. This, not surprisingly, is not forthcoming. Quite the contrary. On February 22, Solicitor General Lawrence Pennell flagrantly defended RCMP spying among students, although he said he had been "advised" that the RCMP does not fund student organizations. We must assume of course that, like other cabinet members, Mr. Pennell is an honorable man. However . . . we strongly suspect that NDP leader Tommy Douglas, whose questions provoked Pennell's response, would do well to take this assertion with a very large grain of salt.

CUS president Ward recently revealed that the RCMP has been going to the national leadership of CUS for 15 years seeking collaboration in its stoolpidgeon activities. Commendably, CUS quite properly told the representatives of Canadian big business' political police where to get off at.

But there is another matter which supporters of the NDP would do well to additionally concern themselves

with. One of the most scandalous exposures is the fact that the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) has been listed as a recipient of CIA funds.

The IUSY is the official youth group of the Socialist and Labour (Second) International, to which the NDP is affiliated. The New Democratic Youth is directly affiliated to the IUSY. The IUSY in the past has actively organized opposition to affairs such as the Helsinki Youth Festival. For what purpose did it use its CIA bundle? What connection does the NDY have with this?

Regardless of the answers to these questions, one thing is clear. What this demonstrates is how the premise of anti-communism, a premise subscribed to by the leadership of the NDP and NDY, leads invariably into the camp of international capitalism and its most venal and corrupt agents.

What the CIA is doing today, we can be sure the RCMP is doing also. The only difference between the two organizations is that the RCMP has less money to shovel out than its U.S. counterpart. The RCMP's role as a strike-breaker and political stoolpidgeon for the wealthy minority who really rule this country is well known. The RCMP — and the CIA — will receive only encouragement from the Pearsons and Diefenbakers, despite all the politicians' pious claptrap about democracy and Canada's national integrity.

The way to fight the police state activities of an RCMP or a CIA is to eliminate the poison of anti-communism from every sector of the labor and student movements. That is the only way to maintain a strong and independent movement which will some day be capable of ending a social system that breeds the hypocrisy, deceit and treachery enshrined in such unsavory institutions as the RCMP.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18; Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
Box 476

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

Subscribe Now to

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

1.00 for 12 issues, \$2.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

me

press

Where the Action is Fri Night, Vancouver

For trade union militants, left-wing NDPers and socialists living in the Vancouver area, there is only one place to go on a Friday evening — that is to the Vanguard Forum held at 1208 Granville Street, starting at 8 p.m.

It is the only place in town where you can regularly hear a socialist analysis of current events, hear speakers who are authorities in their own right, and exchange experiences with other radicals.

Last November close to 70 persons, many of them students and academics, heard the outstanding American socialist scholar George Novack speak on the Problems of Alienation in Modern Society. His one-and-a-half hour thought provoking presentation produced a lively and lengthy question and discussion period. For many it was their first time at a Vanguard forum. It was advertised by posters, leaflets and over radio station CKNW.

During the same month, in order to commemorate the Hungarian revolution of 1956, Gabor Mate, a Hungarian student presently at the University of British Columbia spoke before a packed hall on the meaning of this popular uprising. Although he was very young when the revolution took place, his eye-witness account of the battles in Budapest left the audience with a better understanding of the social forces involved and of the brutality of the Soviet-Hungarian Stalinists in suppressing it.

The second forum of the new year was addressed by Dorothy Steeves, long time member of the CCF and NDP, former CCF, MLA and presently a member of the NDP Federal Council. Her analysis of Canada's war alliances left no doubt in anyones mind that NATO and NORAD are instruments of imperialism — are

used to maintain the status quo — and that Canada should get out of them now.

Forum participants on January 27 were able to hear a first hand account of the discrimination suffered by Canada's Indian population and what measures are being taken to stop it when Sam and Mabel Lewis shared the platform together. Mabel Lewis is active in numerous Indian organizations. Her husband is the first vice-president of the Vancouver Indian Centre Society. Both are from the Capilano Indian Reserve.

The February 3 forum was a big success when it featured Ross Dowson, editor of *Workers Vanguard*, on the subject "What is Trotskyism?" About 60 persons heard a presentation of why the working class should assume power and thereby gain control over their own destiny. The speaker replied to questions posed during interviews he had with Doug Collins of CBC-TV and programmers at Station CKWX's open line program that implied Trotsky's only significance was his contribution to the Russian Revolution and his subsequent struggle against Stalin. Dowson explained how Trotskyism is essentially anti-capitalist and to be a Trotskyist in the real meaning of the word is to be a consistent advocate of working class power. He elaborated on how the election of an NDP government in the provinces and Ottawa would mean a decisive break with capitalist politics.

At the March 10 forum recently elected Alderman Harry Rankin, who has been identified with working class politics for many years, will speak on City Hall and Power Politics. His talk will be based on how the Liberals, Tories and Socreds use city hall in the interests of big business.

LSA Brief Challenges Committee on Prices

by Art Young

In its brief to the Toronto hearings of the Senate-Commons Committee on Prices, the League for Socialist Action challenged the Committee to reverse its course, investigate corporate profiteering, or else be considered a smokescreen for big business interests. But the LSA brief got second-class treatment from the august Committee; in fact the Toronto hearings clearly demonstrated that this body will produce little of value to the thousands who have been demonstrating their concern about the skyrocketing cost of living.

"Senators and MPs take their prices inquiry to the people." That's how the press touted the cross-country hearings of the Committee — an exercise in democracy, they said. It worked out quite differently. For one thing, the Committee traversed the entire country in eight days. For another, it held its sessions during the daytime, when most people were at work and so unable to testify. Little of the shoppers' indignation penetrated the sessions, conducted with an air of placidity.

About the only spark of life was struck when an MP concerned with runaway plants raised the possibility of government regulation of these moves. He cracked that NDP representative Max Saltzman was "too scared" to raise the demand, commenting that the NDP "is only interested in showing that they can run the capitalist system better." NDP MP Saltzman, far from denying the charge, sought to win the admission that the NDP was a better administrator.

The most outrageous feature of

the probe came to light when the Toronto LSA brought forward its brief. It was informed that there would be no time to read it to the Committee, as there were too many other briefs to be read. And how did these briefs — two of the first three were from what Committee Co-chairman Senator Croll said were "the most successful land developers in Ontario" — get priority over the LSA's? It seems that certain groups were invited by the Committee to testify! The Committee decided in advance the groups it wished to hear from — and the socialists were not included.

Nevertheless, the LSA brief was handed to the Committee, to be considered by the body at a later date. The main thrust of the LSA brief was to challenge the Committee to reverse its course, and investigate corporate profiteering. It raised as important factors in the rising cost of living Canadian-U.S. spending on the Vietnam war, and the steadily mounting and burdensome national debt, but said that the considerable evidence already brought to light before the Committee showed profiteering to be the main source of the rising cost of living; any honest inquiry would give this area the most intensive investigation.

Yet repeated guarantees had been given to the corporations that this area would not be probed. "There can be no honest investigation of inflation without breaking free from the restrictions already accepted by this Committee . . . If the Committee is not prepared to reverse its course, then the people of Canada will be forced to conclude that it is

nothing but a smokescreen designed to hide the truth about rising prices."

The hearings are over. There has been no investigation of corporate profit-gouging, and the Canadian people would be well advised to conclude that the Committee is indeed a smokescreen.

They should go forward, in the words of the LSA brief, "to set up their own prices investigations bodies completely independent of the government and linked up with the farmers organizations, the co-operative movement and the trade unions . . . (to demand) that the books of the corporate interests be opened for their examination, that their interests (the interests of the overwhelming majority) be put before the interests of corporate wealth, and appropriate actions be taken to assure this."

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
Box 476

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

Published monthly by The Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

The policy of **The Workers Vanguard** is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of **The Workers Vanguard**.
Set by Union Labor.

Subscription \$1.00 a year (12 issues)

Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa,
and for payment of postage in cash.

New And Different

Yes, there is something different about this issue of the *Vanguard*! It is no longer being printed by the letter press method of reproduction. It is being printed by the offset lithographic process.

In fact, if you have been looking closely at *Workers Vanguard* over the past year, if you have had occasion to compare one issue with another, you will have noticed that while the style has been the same there has been a considerable variation in appearance.

Since our inception in 1945 we have worked with Merchants Press, carrying Allied Printing Trades Label 23. Ever since this shop closed down last year we have had considerable difficulty establishing a suitable relation with a new shop. We have sought one where there would be no interference with what we want to say, where we would get good service, and at a price that a treasury based on voluntary donations from working men and women could meet.

Behind the erratic appearance of the *Vanguard* that many of our readers have been complaining about over the past year, has been the difficulties of finding such a shop in the Toronto area.

Reluctantly, we have now decided that we have no alternative, in order to solve this problem, but to obtain the means to print the *Vanguard* ourselves, with voluntary labor. A side effect from this solution is that with this issue, for the first time, the *Vanguard* will not carry an Allied Printing Trades Union Label under its masthead. The modest shop that we are in the process of building will shortly apply for a union label from the Allied Printing Trades Label Committee once it has expanded to sufficient scope to meet the laid down conditions.

The *Vanguard* will, of course, with its militant class struggle policies, continue to be Canada's labor paper par excellence. Everyone in anyway connected with it is 100 per cent unionist. And all the body type is set by strictly union labor.

Alta. NDP Challenged to Face Key Issues by Socialist Caucus

By our Edmonton Correspondent
EDMONTON, March 19—"Premier Manning says the next election will be a choice between free enterprise and socialism," declared Alberta NDP leader Neil Reimer in his keynote speech to the party's annual convention here this weekend. "There is no such issue. What Manning means is that the fight between Social Credit and the New Democratic Party. We accept his challenge."

Reimer's comments underlined the major themes of the convention which attracted over 1,000 delegates and visitors to the swank Chateau Lacombe for 2½ days of carefully engineered hoopla and circus-like enthusiasm. On the one hand, the impending provincial general election weighing heavily in every delegate's mind; the party's high hopes, bolstered by recent by-election victories, for a substantial success at the polls; and the consequent, almost inevitable obsession with presenting at least the appearance of outward unanimity and unity behind the present leadership and program. On the other hand, the equally inevitable clash between that leadership's totally inadequate "make-capitalism-work" approach, and the small but vocal body of delegates, mainly youth, who are correctly convinced that the way to answer Social Credit's red-baiting attacks on the NDP is not by an unconvincing disavowal of socialist principles, but rather by educating the workers and farmers through a frontal attack on the abuses of the capitalist system.

Ban on Literature

This essential conflict between electoral opportunism and political realism could only occasionally break through the rigid convention agenda, which allowed less than 6 hours' debate, most of it in restrictive panels, to discussion of program. But dissent was sufficient to provoke a certain nervousness among the party brass. Thus, the latter moved quickly in the opening session to ram through a resolution prohibiting the distribution of "unauthorized literature" to the convention delegates. This motion was aimed squarely at the newly-formed Socialist Caucus, which had drawn up a detailed policy statement outlining the major issues facing the convention — Vietnam, oil and gas nationalization, and price inflation. While this attempted prohibition failed, in the face of the Caucus' obvious determination to circulate its views, the brass did succeed in preventing some of the major issues from even reaching the floor.

When Edmonton NDY city club delegate John Lejerman moved in plenary session to introduce his club's Socialist Caucus-inspired resolution on oil and gas nationaliza-

Prairie Rally Hails Tribunal

SASKATOON — Over 100 persons attended the conference held here on March 11 in support of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

Professor Milner Alexander and Stan Rands, a social psychologist and prominent NDPer, lead off the discussion on Canadian complicity in the war in Vietnam and the role that the War Crimes Tribunal could play in ending this crime. Professor Harold Bronson and Richard Thompson, chairman of the Saskatoon Committee to End the War in Vietnam, lead the discussion on Canada's role in the war.

The meeting came out strong in support of the tribunal and in condemnation of Ottawa's role. It was proposed that petitions be sent to the federal government demanding an end to Canadian ideological support of the U.S. position, and urging a ban on strategic materials, including raw materials, going to the U.S. effort.

tion, which had somehow never been published in the convention kits, chairman Ivor Dent, the party president, refused to entertain the motion. (The NDP calls only for a "Crown-sponsored" corporation to develop the as-yet undeveloped Athabasca Tar Sands.) When a delegate protested, Dent admitted that the resolution could be discussed if it were a case of "emergency," but refused a suggestion that this was indeed an emergency question — despite the fact that oil and gas policy will almost certainly be the biggest issue in the election!

Apparently this desire not to question existing party policy did not apply to the whole program, however. The convention voted to reverse last year's demand for nationalization of the entire insurance industry, to demand simply that "an NDP government would establish a publicly-owned life insurance corporation."

The Socialist Caucus did succeed, however, in achieving adoption of an amendment to the resolution calling for a Prices Review Board, which would empower such a board to "examine company books" to determine the actual extent of price-gouging and profiteering by the giant corporations.

(See page 4)

U.S. Viet Protest Urges Int'l Support

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition of a broad spectrum of U.S. peace, civil rights, political and community organizations, is building what is now certain to be the most massive anti-war mobilization yet seen on this continent. People from coast to coast will flood into New York and San Francisco on April 15. In New York they will mass in Central Park, march across Manhattan to the United Nations, and there stage a rally of gigantic proportions.

The Student Mobilization Committee that came out of a Chicago conference of students has joined with a call for a Vietnam Week — April 8 to April 15. The numerous actions slated to take place on U.S. campuses that week will culminate in the New York and San Francisco demonstrations.

The SMC has now widened the appeal. It has issued a call to the peoples of the entire world to join in the Vietnam Week in an international demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. "We ask this expression," reads SMC's appeal, "in the name of international brotherhood and peace, in the name of humanity."

The Reverend James Bevel, the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, whose chairman was the late A. J. Muste, has

announced that Reverend Martin Luther King will address the New York rally and that Reverend R. D. Abernathy has become a vice chairman, along with Dagmar Wilson of the Women Strike for Peace, Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 AFL-CIO, Dave Dellinger of Liberation, and Profes-

sors R. Greenblatt and S. Peck. The West Coast officers are Edward Keating of Ramparts and Kipp Dawson of the San Francisco State Vietnam Day Committee.

A promising new development are the connections that the anti-war movement is forming with the

(See page 2)

\$8,000 Gets Us a Twice Monthly

by John Wilson

The 1967 *Vanguard* financial drive, from March 15 to May 1, will mark a tremendous step forward for Canadian socialism. It is designed to launch this paper as a twice-monthly starting in October!

The importance of this breakthrough for Canada's socialist press cannot be overstated. It will make the *Vanguard* more than twice as effective as a militant opponent of the war in Vietnam, as a voice for union militants, as a reporter of labor's struggle internationally, and as a spokesman for a socialist Canada.

We have wanted to make this move for some time, but were always inhibited by the cost. However the growth of our influence, the increased militancy displayed by the rank and file of the labor movement, the growing movement against the Vietnam war, the upsurge of NDP support and the growing number of radical youth responding to the socialist cause all make the increased publication of the *Vanguard* so vital that it can no longer be postponed. We're going ahead! We're asking for \$8,000 this year.

That's a minimum to get started with twice-monthly publication. While we're aiming at almost double the objective of our last drive, that \$8,000 is really a modest figure.

Our only source of funds is—and always has been—YOU, our readers and supporters. We've got no "angels" behind the scenes to help us. Just ordinary working people—trade unionists, NDPers, students and a few professional people. Not even—we're proud to say—one thin dime from the CIA.

The stakes are of the highest order in the fight that the *Vanguard's* engaged in. In these days of the danger of nuclear destruction, they're life itself. In this context, money really is a small matter. But we need it—now.

The drive is on from now to May 1st—May Day, labor's day of international solidarity. We know that you will give generously so that we will all have something extra to celebrate this May Day—by going over the top and ensuring for the first time our twice-monthly publication!

We're counting on you. Send your contributions right away to: *The Workers Vanguard*, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont.

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 7 (127) Mid-March, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Support for War Crimes Tribunal

TORONTO—A Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal was formally launched at a press conference held here on March 10. Among the sponsors of the committee who were in attendance were Professor Chandler Davis, Professor Hans Blumenfeld and Carmen Guild of the University of Toronto, Rev. Gene Young, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, and Ken Warren, its executive secretary.

The Canadian Committee announced as its intention to assist the International War Crimes Tribunal. The Tribunal, with Bertrand Russell as its honorary president, Jean-Paul Sartre, executive president, and Vladimir Dedjiev as chairman, will specifically investigate apparent U.S. war crimes in Vietnam against peace and humanity. The legal basis for its investigations are the *prima facie* evidence, presented daily in the press. Since it has no authority to proclaim punishment it will function not as a court of law but as a commission of inquiry, a grand jury, with the authority that the character of its members and correctness of its procedures will give it.

The Canadian Committee hopes to assist in presenting the facts on the Tribunal and its work to the Canadian public and to raise funds to help in its efforts. Dr Tolentino has just returned from investigations he made in the Hanoi area of Vietnam as a member of the second team of WCT investigators. The committee appeals to all Canadians who are in a position to do so, (in possible reference to Canadians who have served on the International Control Commission) to come forward and offer to give evidence relevant to the Tribunal's investigations.

The committee already has an imposing list of sponsors; among them leading academics at the Uni-

versity of Toronto, the University of Alberta, the University of Western Ontario (London), Lakehead University (Fort William), anti-Vietnam war committees in Edmonton, Ottawa and Montreal, and Ed Finn, director of publications of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers (CLC).



Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Toronto psychiatrist, and Lawrence Daly, secretary of the Scottish Mine Workers Union, are shown examining the tail of a U.S. bull-pup missile at Viet-Tri, in northern Vietnam. In the foreground are several canisters for anti-personnel bombs that are being dropped indiscriminately and in great numbers under Washington's orders to maim and terrorize the population. Tolentino and Daly were members of the first team of investigators sent into Vietnam over January-February by the International War Crimes Tribunal. Dr. Tolentino was one of the featured speakers at the March 11 Toronto Assembly to Tell the Truth About Vietnam. He also participated with Joan Baez, Tom Hayden, and others, in the highly successful "teach-in" on Vietnam at Victoria, B.C., on March 18-19.

Alta. NDP Challenged to Face Key Issues by Socialist Caucus

By our
Edmonton Correspondent

EDMONTON, March 19—"Premier Manning says the next election will be a choice between free enterprise and socialism," declared Alberta NDP leader Neil Reimer in his keynote speech to the party's annual convention here this weekend. "There is no such issue. What Manning means is that the fight's between Social Credit and the New Democratic Party. We accept his challenge."

Reimer's comments underlined the major themes of the convention which attracted over 1,000 delegates and visitors to the swank Chateau Lacombe for 2½ days of carefully engineered hoopla and circus-like enthusiasm. On the one hand, the impending provincial general election weighing heavily in every delegate's mind; the party's high hopes, bolstered by recent by-election victories, for a substantial success at the polls; and the consequent, almost inevitable obsession with presenting at least the appearance of outward unanimity and unity behind the present leadership and program. On the other hand, the equally inevitable clash between that leadership's totally inadequate "make-capitalism-work" approach, and the small but vocal body of delegates, mainly youth, who are correctly convinced that the way to answer Social Credit's red-baiting attacks on the NDP is not by an unconvincing disavowal of socialist principles, but rather by educating the workers and farmers through a frontal attack on the abuses of the capitalist system.

Ban on Literature

This essential conflict between electoral opportunism and political realism could only occasionally break through the rigid convention agenda, which allowed less than 6 hours' debate, most of it in restrictive panels, to discussion of program. But dissent was sufficient to provoke a certain nervousness among the party brass. Thus, the latter moved quickly in the opening session to ram through a reso-

lution prohibiting the distribution of "unauthorized literature" to the convention delegates. This motion was aimed squarely at the newly-formed Socialist Caucus, which had drawn up a detailed policy statement outlining the major issues facing the convention — Vietnam, oil and gas nationalization, and price inflation. While this attempted prohibition failed, in the face of the Caucus' obvious determination to circulate its views, the brass did succeed in preventing some of the major issues from even reaching the floor.

When Edmonton NDY city club delegate John Lejderman moved in plenary session to introduce his club's Socialist Caucus-inspired resolution on oil and gas nationalization, which had somehow never been published in the convention kits, chairman Ivor Dent, the party president, refused to entertain the motion. (The NDP calls only for a "Crown-sponsored" corporation to develop the as-yet undeveloped Athabasca Tar Sands.) When a delegate protested, Dent admitted that the resolution could be discussed if it were a case of "emergency", but refused a suggestion that this was indeed an emergency question — despite the fact that oil and gas policy will almost certainly be the biggest issue in the election!

Apparently this desire not to question existing party policy did not apply to the whole program, however. The convention voted to reverse last year's demand for nationalization of the entire insurance industry, to demand simply that "an NDP government would establish a publicly-owned life insurance corporation."

The Socialist Caucus did succeed, however, in achieving adoption of an amendment to the resolution calling for a Prices Review Board, which would empower such a board to "examine company books" to determine the actual extent of price-gouging and profiteering by the giant corporations.

(See page 4)

SOCIALIST CAUCUS AT THE ALTA. NDP RALLY

(continued from page 1)

The wide gap between socialist principles and NDP electoral strategy was most blatantly revealed, however, when an omnibus resolution on Vietnam from the Alberta NDY convention stating in part that "the NLF represents the vast majority of the people of south Vietnam" and calling for the "immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam to allow the Vietnamese self-determination", was introduced without the resolution committee's concurrence.

While a few reactionary delegates suggested the resolution was "written by Red China", most speakers expressed personal agreement with its contents. However, many of them objected to its "provocative" language on the grounds that clearcut opposition to American aggression would be electorally unpopular, and that Manning "would use it against us". Candidate Norm Dolman of St-Albert cut across this fallacious reasoning when he pointed out how the NDP could gain widespread support for a forthright position on Vietnam.

Finally, after a heated debate, no less a figure than Neil Reimer himself intervened to propose some radical surgery. Admitting that everything stated in the resolution was "correct", he moved nevertheless to strike out all the "whereases", and substitute "foreign" for "U.S." troops. Instead of "immediate withdrawal", Reimer countered with the contradictory formulation: "the reconvening of all the Geneva Accord powers . . . to allow self-determination for Vietnam". This truncated proposal was immediately put to a vote—despite the presence of about 10 delegates in the speakers' lines at the microphones. A challenge by youth delegate Barrie Chivers to the

chair's undemocratic and illegal ruling was then rejected by a small majority.

Demands by some delegates, including at least one candidate, for a discussion of the program to be presented to the electorate, were hastily brushed aside by provincial secretary Grant Notley, in a closed session "debate" devoted exclusively to pep talks and mundane matters of zone-poll organization.

Socialist Caucus

The obvious incapacity of the leadership to stress the important issues, provoked a new interest in the work of the Socialist Caucus, which appeared for the first time at an Alberta convention. An orientation meeting of the Caucus during the convention attracted upwards of 40 delegates, including, significantly, a considerable number of youth and four of the election candidates. And Socialist Caucus member John Lejderman, who contested the executive elections, received the votes of 20 per cent of the delegates. The Socialist Caucus sold over \$30 worth of literature, including 120 copies of its Manifesto.

Clearly impressed with this interest and support for socialist ideas, Reimer conceded in his concluding speech that "it is normal that there's a wide spectrum of opinion in the party", and affirmed: "That's the way it ought to be. The day we don't disagree, there will be no democracy." However, socialists in the NDP demand much more than simple recognition of their elementary minority rights within the party. This convention revealed once again that a long, unremitting, and organized fight for a consistent class-struggle program and a new leadership to implement that program is a necessity, if the NDP is really to become a viable instrument for fundamental social change.

Subscribe Now to

THE WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

\$1.00 for 12 issues, \$2.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

Name

Address

\$8,000 Gets Us a Twice Monthly

by John Wilson

The 1967 *Vanguard* financial drive, from March 15 to May 1, will mark a tremendous step forward for Canadian socialism. It is designed to launch this paper as a *twice-monthly* starting in October!

The importance of this breakthrough

The importance of this breakthrough for Canada's socialist press cannot be overstated. It will make the *Vanguard* more than twice as effective as a militant opponent of the war in Vietnam, as a voice for union militants, as a reporter of labor's struggle internationally, and as a spokesman for a socialist Canada.

We have wanted to make this move for some time, but were always inhibited by the cost. However the growth of our influence, the increased militancy displayed by the rank and file of the labor movement, the growing movement against the Vietnam war, the upsurge of NDP support and the growing number of radical youth responding to the socialist cause all make the increased publication of the *Vanguard* so vital that it can no longer be postponed. We're going ahead!

We're asking for \$8,000 this year.

That's a *minimum* to get started with twice-monthly publication. While we're aiming at almost double the objective of our last drive, that \$8,000 is really a modest figure.

Our only source of funds is—and always has been—YOU, our readers and supporters. We've got no "angels" behind the scenes to help us. Just ordinary working people—trade unionists, NDPers, students and a few professional people. Not even—we're proud to say—one thin dime from the CIA.

The stakes are of the highest order in the fight that the *Vanguard's* engaged in. In these days of the danger of nuclear destruction, they're life itself. In this context, money really is a small matter. But we *need* it—now.

The drive is on from now to May 1st—May Day, labor's day of international solidarity. We know that you will give generously so that we will all have something *extra* to celebrate *this* May Day—by going over the top and ensuring for the first time our twice-monthly publication!

We're counting on you. Send your contributions right away to: *The Workers Vanguard*, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont.



Published monthly by The Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

The policy of **The Workers Vanguard** is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of **The Workers Vanguard**.
Set by Union Labor.

Subscription \$1.00 a year (12 issues)
Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa,
and for payment of postage in cash.

Cross Country With the NDP

The Ontario Socialist Caucus has made known that two leading NDP activists in the Ottawa area have been expelled from the party and warns that there may well be more expulsions on the way. The caucus, over the name of its chairman, has called upon the Ottawa Area NDP Council to repudiate the expulsions and demand that the two be granted the elementary right of appeal which has apparently been denied them.

The two, Gary Porter and Jeff White, longtime NDPers and prominent in the anti-Vietnam war movement, were among the five activists whose applications were rejected just last January. A protest meeting by the caucus took the matter into the provincial council which was sitting at the time.

Put on the spot, the top leadership claimed that the five's applications were merely being held up because they had been improperly submitted, although they had been informed by the executive of the riding that they had been expelled under a constitutional clause barring membership to members of another political party.

The top brass passed the buck onto the Ottawa Center constituency executive with the claim that the riding vice-president, who had accepted the applications, had neglected to sign them. Subsequently the vice-president resigned from the party and with a redbaiting smear of the NDP joined the quasi-fascist Bulldog party.

Now Porter and White have been informed that the provincial executive itself has turned down their membership. No reasons were given. The other three have still not received their membership and the caucus letter warns that "in addi-

tion a number of Socialist Caucus supporters have not received their 1967 memberships at this time although as in the case of some they were in well over three months ago."

For sometime now there has been persistent talk of a purge of persons alleged to be members of the League for Socialist Action, which on the eve of a previous purge was declared by the Ontario leadership to be an opponent political party. It is rumoured that the leadership is preparing to throw out another 45 to 50 members, not of course for any actions on their part detrimental to the party, but merely on this allegation—and thus rid themselves of spokesmen of the socialist viewpoint.

The Socialist Caucus appeals to all NDPers to take this protest into their unions and riding associations. "A powerful protest generated across the province is needed now to reverse the expulsions and to prevent further ones."

* * *

Last month the House of Commons echoed with a speech by NDP leader T. C. Douglas on the war in Vietnam. In some ways it was a powerful speech. Scoring External Affairs Minister Martin's plea not to rock the boat, Douglas declared that the war in Vietnam "is the greatest moral issue of our time," that it "is an issue on which men of conscience must speak out, and boldly."

Anyone with any understanding of Washington's counter-revolutionary aims there, and who is aware of the horrendous crimes it is committing against the people in the north, couldn't help but warm up to Douglas' speech. After such a long silence,

even mention of Vietnam sounds good to the ears of those committed to the NDP as the political party that poses the key issue of labor versus capital, and who want the party to voice the interests of the working class on the crucial matter of war.

But when you get down to it, Douglas' speech was sheer tokenism, nothing but making the record. The NDP leadership obviously feel confident that they can win the good will of those who are developing doubts about Ottawa's support of Washington, and at the same time not jeopardize the good will of those who are presently going along with the Liberals, with words empty of any practice and of any commitment. And because there is no viable alternative they feel they can mollify, buy off, the forces around the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Of course the Liberals and their Tory and Socred supporters ignored the speech. It doesn't agitate them or even upset them, for they know better than anyone that it is just for the record. The daily press all but ignored it too—and this doesn't bother the NDP leadership. You can be sure that the party's own press, as in the past, won't give it the streamer headline, or even the front page treatment that the "greatest moral issue of our time" would require it to do. It won't be shouting out of the pages of the party press. The Ontario and BC monthlies probably won't even mention it—and the Saskatchewan *Commonwealth* will bury it at the back, at the bottom of page 8.

This blackout by the party press also serves another purpose. It serves to bolster up the myth that the party's federal leader is to the left of the rest of the leadership. We shouldn't attack any shortcomings in his pronouncements, so the story goes, because even they are made in the face of opposition from the rest of the leadership—who are even worse. Thus those who are hesitant to get mixed up in socialist caucuses or the politics of the movement, can take comfort in the hope that such problems can be settled within the ranks of the present leadership.

As for the speech itself—like most of Douglas' speeches, after you clear away the rhetoric, the criticism of the government that it contains is largely drawn from currents in the Liberal Party itself, in this case the Canadian University Liberal Association, or from such "legitimate" sources as Pope Paul or U Thant. And programmatically it stands on the same grounds as they do—friendly advice to the U.S. State Department.

Central Office,
Canadian Section.

1 Cumberland St.,
Toronto 5, Ont.,
April 23, 1967.

Re: July 1 Demonstration
To: Branches and Members-at-large:

Dear Comrades,

The July 1 anti-war rally in Montreal is one of the most ambitious and important mobilizations that we have yet undertaken in the course of developing the Canadian anti-war movement. Since it is now only a little over two months away, it is imperative that the character of the action, what we intend to see it achieve and how we intend to go about that are unmistakably clear to our own comrades.

First, this demonstration must be of the broadest scope possible, mobilizing maximum numbers from as many areas of Canada as humanly possible. For this reason, the main slogans advanced in building it are crucial. The main theme we intend to project is "Vietnam for the Vietnamese", "~~Take~~ Vietnam to Expo", "End ~~Canada's~~ Complicity". These are principled slogans capable of rallying the widest support.

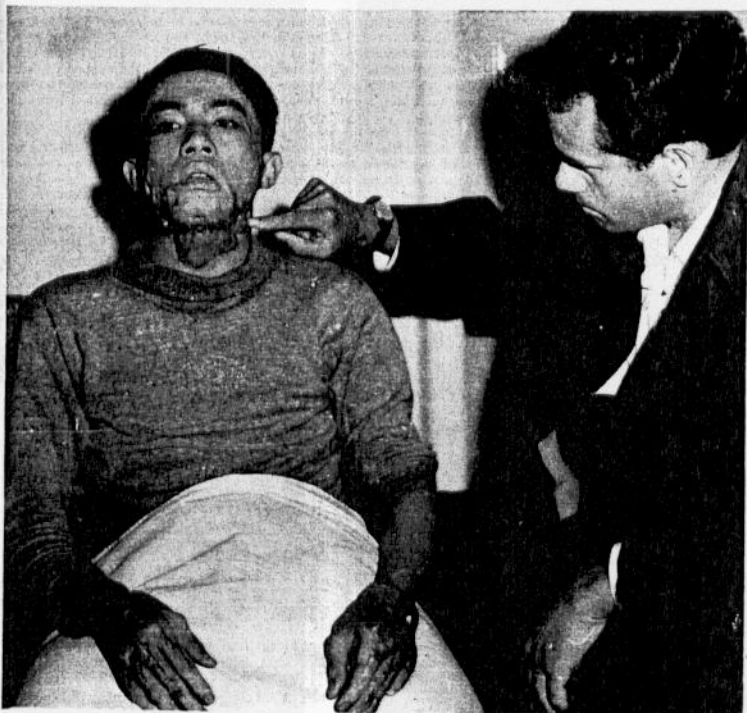
Comrades are undoubtedly aware that we are working for maximum augmentation of those going to Montreal from English Canada by Quebec nationalist forces. It is important that we are aware of how to correctly present this to the anti-war movement outside Quebec. As far as the anti-war movement is concerned the overall theme is of course opposition to the war in Vietnam. Since it is the centennial of Confederation, it is entirely logical that some sectors of the movement may want to carry additional slogans, such as "100 Years of Injustice", "Quebec for the Quebecois", etc., but it would be sectarian to ask the anti-war movement as a whole to endorse such demands, for it would narrow the possible base for the mobilization. While the overall theme would be the Vietnam slogans, and they are all any element participating is considered to be committed to, we should emphasize non-exclusion, the right for anybody to carry any sign they want to or sell and distribute any literature they wish. We should point out to anyone opposed that this same principle of non-exclusion was the keynote of the April 15 successes. It is important that all this be understood, for we will have enough work cut out for us to make this mobilization the success it should be without having to counter English-Canadian chauvinism. We already have the opposition of the pro-Confederation CP and other worshippers of the "progressive" bourgeoisie to deal with.

We project a legal demonstration. People in Quebec will look into the question of the legality of the civic by-law prohibiting demonstrations on the site of Expo or near the approaches to see if it can be challenged on this plane. But what this may well mean is that the demonstration itself will not be on the Expo grounds but somewhere prominent in Montreal city. If we want to rally the largest numbers possible, the last we want is guaranteed cop trouble. The demonstration aside, we will look for ways to take Vietnam into Expo itself in a less direct fashion.

Support for the action must be taken beyond those committees in which we have the most influence, for even if considerably broader than ourselves, they still constitute a somewhat narrow base. We are encouraging the Toronto Coordinating Committee to set up a subcommittee to get prominent sponsors across the country -- academics, religious types, student activists, trade unionists and NDPers. This requires a Canada-wide effort and should be begun immediately. We already have a start with the actions of the Voix du Quebec sur Vietnam, TCC, SAEWV, and the VDC in Vancouver, but we need to act quickly and speed up the momentum in order to build a highly successful action July 1.

Fraternally,
John Bannon,
for the Political Committee.

Ottawa Sits on Help for Vietnam Children



The agony of the children in southern Vietnam, their flesh seared by napalm and torn by anti-personnel bombs dropped by U.S. planes is, graphically recorded in the April 1 mass circulation *Star Weekly*. Here the napalm bomb wounds of Thai-Binh-Dan, of Long-An province in the north, are being examined by Toronto Dr. Gustavo Tolentino. The 17-year-old boy's village was bombed by U.S. planes over a year ago. Dr. Tolentino was a member of the second team of investigators sent into northern Vietnam over January - February by the International War Crimes Tribunal.

John Wilson

"If you want to do something, you do it. If you don't, you sit around thinking up excuses."

"You know what the holdup is, they say? The Vietnamese won't pay for the electricity, for Christ's sake. Here is a house on fire and a man is trying to get his kids out and up comes the milkman and says 'Hey, you owe me for last Tuesday.'"

It was with these bitter words that Dr. Gustavo Gringras, internationally renowned as executive director of the Montreal Rehabilitation Institute, condemned the latest sordid example of the Canadian government's cynical complicity in Washington's murderous aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The central fact brought out in Walter Stewart's article in the April 1 issue of the *Star Weekly* is this: for the past 18 months, while Vietnamese child victims of U.S. bombing have been burning, bleeding and dying, the Canadian government has been sitting on a medical aid pro-

gram for South Vietnamese children because its implementation is opposed by the puppet regime of Hitler-loving Premier Nguyen Cao Ky.

It was in July 1965 that Dr. Gringras was asked by the External Aid department to start organizing the child-aid program. On September 28, 1965 he flew to Saigon. On October 14, he returned to Canada, the bulk of his work accomplished: he had permission from the officials, a building to work from and a program that would cost the Pearson government less than \$500,000 a year.

In response to all his work, performed without pay, Dr. Gringras, upon presenting his report, got what he himself describes as a "brush-off." External Aid's then director, H. O. Moran, was "too busy" to see him. He was met by an assistant who had only one instruction for him—"Don't talk to newsmen."

Undaunted, Dr. Gringras proceeded to round up volunteers to staff the rehabilitation center, confident the

(See page 3)

BY JEAN LAPLANTE

The first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal is slated to open in Paris and extend over April 26-May 6. The Tribunal, initiated by the famed mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell, and composed of such eminent international figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Lazaro Cardenas, Vladimir Dedijer, Stokely Carmichael, Isaac Deutscher and Simone de Beauvoir, is investigating allegations of U.S. war crimes against the people of Vietnam.

The sessions which will be open to the world press and invited guests, will hear and accept depositions from individual witnesses as well as specialists, such as Dr. Gustavo Tolentino of Canada, who the Tribunal has sent to examine evidence in Cambodia and Vietnam. It is planned to take place in the Continental Hotel, however a Reuters dispatch of April 11 quotes the director-general of the hotel as saying that "I cancelled the agreement because I am pro-American." Tribunal officials are attempting to straighten out the matter and have expressed confidence that the session will open on schedule.

Despite attempts by the mass media to minimize the importance of the Tribunal, interest in it is growing across Canada. An increasing number of eminent Canadians are giving their names as sponsors of the committee which was formed last month.

The Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal has now set up an office in downtown Toronto and is preparing material for the widest possible circulation. It has already published the official statement of aims and objectives of the Tribunal, and according to its executive secretary, Kenneth

Warren, will be publishing the findings of all the sessions, and other related material.

In response to a request from Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's honorary and executive presidents respectively, the committee is out to raise \$30,000 from Canada, beyond its own expenses.

One of the committee's aims is to encourage and enable all Canadians who have knowledge and experience relevant to the Tribunal's investigations to come forward and offer evidence.

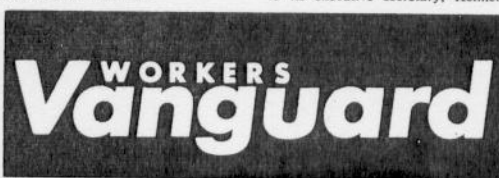
Enquiries about the work of the committee and financial aid should be sent to the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal, Room 6, 758 Yonge Street, Toronto 5.

Mtl. Militants Push on Door of Que. NDP

MONTREAL — Militants in the ranks of the National Union of Municipal Workers, now back at work after their 34-day strike that paralyzed the city's business, are opening up a struggle against their CNTU leadership. They consider the settlement that the leadership imposed on them under the scrutiny of the police to have been a sell-out.

Among other actions they are circulating a petition demanding that the election of officers take place next month, rather than next fall.

On March 7, some twenty of them marched down on the New Democratic Party headquarters to join the party. Spokesman Roger Varnier said that he and many of his brothers are going to be active NDPers on both the union and constituency levels. For him, he said, the concept of "petty bourgeois office holding" leadership in the unions is outmoded. They all agreed that during the strike they learned it is necessary to carry the struggle onto a higher level—the level of working class politics.



Vol. 11, No. 8 (128) Mid-April, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

BC Teachers Threaten to Strike Large Classes

VANCOUVER — Over 500 B.C. teachers met here Easter Week for their 48th annual convention. The increasing militancy affecting teachers right across North America was keenly evident throughout the sessions.

The turn towards "on-the-job" militancy and increased "political action" was outlined in the opening address of J. Harley Robertson, outgoing president of the B.C. Teachers Federation (BCTF).

"I must remark," he said, "on the growing militancy of teachers... Teachers have shown that they no longer wish to be cast into a submissive role in education, they no longer wish to react to proposals of others but prefer to act on their own behalf...."

"This growing militancy has led teachers to directly campaign on class size, to act politically... in short to act in the sure knowledge that what they want for the children in their care is what society must have in order to progress."

The main preoccupation of the convention was smaller classes. The federation established the policy that no teacher should work in a class of more than 40 pupils next September. Provincial Government grants are made to school districts on the basis of classes of 36 pupils; but the overall financial squeeze operating on the municipalities and school districts makes this figure a sham.

The BCTF leadership started the class size campaign thinking that they could shelve the responsibility and consequences of it on the backs of the individual teacher. The professionally motivated and dedicated teacher was supposed to withdraw his services next September with only the policy of the BCTF, and not its

(See page 4)

Drive for Twice-Monthly Headed for Success

by the Editors

While others have been using the bi-national character of Canada and the fact of the oppression of the Quebec people to impede the development of French and English working class unity, the editors of the French language bi-monthly, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, have just made an inspiring demonstration of working class solidarity. They are appealing to their Quebec readers to participate in the fund drive now underway to make the *Vanguard* a twice monthly. Backing up their words with deeds they have forwarded \$230 in cash and they inform us that they already have pledges for as much again.

From every indication we will be publishing the *Workers Vanguard* as a twice monthly—starting October 1st.

The response to our appeal for a minimum of \$8,000 by May 1st to make this possible has been more

immediate and from a wider number than any other appeal that the *Vanguard* and its predecessor *Labor Challenge* have ever made. If we manage to keep up the tempo the success of this campaign is assured. Particularly inspiring has been the reaction of the widening number of youth who have been attracted to the ranks of the *Vanguard* supporters over the past few years. It is obvious that they understand the importance of the revolutionary socialist press and are impatient for the day when we will be a weekly and even a daily.

We had our own ideas as to what could possibly be raised from this rich in enthusiasm but poor in funds expanding force. But even our sanguine estimation fell wide of the mark. In Toronto alone some \$1,875 has been pledged by youth—largely student, yes, high school youth—and

\$1,059 has been turned in. Much of the rest that has been pledged is to be honoured by these youths taking summer jobs and contributing money needed for books, clothing and meals during the next school term. The same situation exists in Vancouver and elsewhere.

Money is coming in to help the *Vanguard* make this giant step forward from "such widely separate areas as Gibsons, up the B.C. coast, right across the country to St. Johns, Newfoundland.

The Toronto campaign director has turned in \$3,351 in hard cash. Vancouver has forwarded \$737.50. The campaign director there informs us that the preparations to make April 15th the largest and most militant demonstration yet against the U.S. counter-revolutionary war on the popular struggle in Vietnam has temporarily slowed down col-

lections. But he is certain that its success, in which the *Vanguard* has played no small part, will see us up and over the top.

Alberta is coming through in its usual fine style — so far \$452.50 has come in from there.

One important aspect of this drive has been the response from a still modest but enlarging number of persons who for various reasons are not activists on a day to day basis in the anti-war, union or socialist movement. But they want to make it possible for others to take the *Vanguard* into the struggle. They are making the building of a strong financial base under the *Vanguard*—as one wise-cracked—their Centennial Project. Everyone can join this effort by sending in his donation at once to *Workers Vanguard Publishing Association*, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto.

Ont. NDP Brass Expel Advocates of Socialism

Delegates to the Toronto area NDP Council meeting over the April 1-2 weekend were called upon to review and appeal the provincial executive's expulsion of four leading Ottawa NDPers who are prominent activists in the anti-Vietnam war movement. The resolution came from the Davenport constituency association.

They also received a copy of an open letter from Joe Young, who is chairman of the Left Caucus of the Ontario Young New Democrats and president of the Canada-wide Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, asking them to appeal his expulsion. It appears that there are at least another 19 who have been or are in the process of being expelled from the party.

While the Ottawa four were arrogantly refused any information whatsoever as to the grounds for their expulsion by the executive, Young reports in his open letter that the provincial secretary wrote him a letter on March 14 in "explanation." The reasons given for the executive action against Young are truly astonishing, and should be profoundly disturbing to all NDPers. Young was expelled by the executive, not for any anti-party acts, of course, but because the leadership "has reasons to believe that you are either a member of or a supporter of another political party." What party? The executive doesn't even name it! As for evidence, the executive cynically states that "it has reasons to believe..."

Unfortunately this crude violation of elementary democracy—certainly of utmost concern to every member of the NDP—did not even get to the floor of the area council. Steel leader Murray Cotterill ruled the Davenport motion out of order, as dealing with a matter outside the jurisdiction of the council—and with the face-saving claim that the expelled would be able to appeal to the coming convention. He permitted Young to make a short statement to the delegates.

On the Sunday evening the meeting called on behalf of the expelled by the secretary of the Ontario NDP Socialist Caucus heard both Jeff White, on behalf of the Ottawa four, and Joe Young. The 25-30 persons in attendance elected a three-man Committee to Defend the Expelled—Mrs. J. Birrell (Davenport) Stu Sinclair (Davenport-DeHavilland UAW) and André Beckerman (St. Andrews). The committee is launching a campaign to obtain sponsors and circulate a petition of protest to be presented at the next provincial council meeting.

The Ottawa Area Council heard two of the expelled and suggested

that the matter be discussed in the riding associations and possibly raised at the provincial council. The Don Mills YND passed a motion protesting the expulsion, and reports indicate that Welland, St. Kitts, and Sarnia ridings will be taking action against the expulsions. It has been reported that both the Oshawa and Peterborough NDP area councils passed motions supporting the expelled and intend to bring the question up at the coming provincial council meeting.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL
La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.
IN OTTAWA
Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165
IN TORONTO
League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.
IN EDMONTON
Workers Vanguard,
Box 478
IN VANCOUVER
League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

Workers' bookshelf



HUGO BLANCO MUST NOT DIE, published by Robert McCarthy, Massey College, 4 Devonshire Place, Toronto, Canada, 16 pp., 30¢ per copy, 4 for \$1.00

This pamphlet is a significant contribution to the international campaign to save the life of Hugo Blanco. It is attractively printed and is must reading for anyone concerned with the fate of the imperilled Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader and with the development of the revolutionary struggles in Latin America.

The main text of the pamphlet is the keynote speech delivered to a Toronto meeting on January 27 by André Gunder Frank, author of *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. Professor Frank is a world known authority on Latin America, presently visiting professor in economics and history at Sir George Williams University in Montreal.

In this remarkable speech, Professor Frank not only gives the reader a penetrating picture of the Peruvian struggle but of the strategic problems confronting Latin American revolutionaries in their fight against the North American imperialist colossus and its myriad "counter-insurgency" plans backed by the most demonic weapons in its massive arsenal. He demonstrates the utter falsity of characterizing any sector of the native capitalist and land-owning classes as "progressive" in any sense, and gives a clear evaluation and analysis of the various tendencies and strategies before the freedom fighters in that exploited and pauperized continent.

Besides Professor Frank's speech, the pamphlet contains an introduction by Kenneth Golby of York University, a member of Amnesty International, who chaired the protest meeting. This introduction gives the specific background to Blanco's case.

Underlining the international character of the amnesty campaign for Hugo Blanco, the pamphlet reproduces statements by Che Guevara, Jean Paul Sartre and lists on its back cover an impressive number of international figures and organizations who have joined in protest—a protest which almost certainly is largely responsible for the fact that Hugo Blanco is still alive.

Contributions to the defence should be sent to the address listed above for obtaining copies of the pamphlet.

SUR LE PARTI OUVRIER—MARX ET ENGELS, published by La Lutte Ouvrière, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, Montréal 18, Québec.

This pamphlet, a French translation of the now out-of-print English edition originally published by Vanguard Publishers, will prove to be of considerable value to the struggle for socialism in Quebec. It consists of excerpts from the writings of Marx and Engels.

They begin with statements on the character of the struggle between labor and capital, explaining why every trade union struggle is in the final analysis a political struggle, and how the issues at stake in the struggle can only be definitively resolved in the battle for power. They go on to project how the struggle must progress from the conservative slogan of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" to the slogan of abolition of the capitalist system.

Marx and Engels give great emphasis to the critical necessity of independent class political action, explaining why the workers should run their own candidates even when "there is no prospect at all for their election." In outlining his views on what the attitude of socialists should be to an emerging labor party formation, Engels, in a letter to an American socialist, polemicalizes

against those socialists who set themselves above the real working class movement by adopting sectarian and doctrinaire positions. He talks about how, instead, socialists must in the words of the *Manifesto*, "represent the future of the movement in the present of the movement."

The pamphlet is all the more pertinent in Québec at this time for two immediate reasons. One is the failure of the PSQ to understand the whole question of labor political action. The other is the upcoming convention of the NDP, which so far has failed to move off the federal plane and into provincial politics.

LA REVOLUTION RUSSE, par Léon Trotsky, published by La Lutte Ouvrière, 66 ouest, rue Guilbault, Montréal 18, Québec, 16 pp., 30¢ per copy.

This pamphlet is a French language edition of Trotsky's famous speech, *The Russian Revolution*, delivered to a student audience in Copenhagen in November 1932. In this inspiring address, the co-leader of the Bolshevik revolution and its greatest historian and defender tells why the first breakthrough in the international working class struggle took place in backward Russia, contrary to the projections of classical Marxist theory. He explains the roots of the revolution's degeneration and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He analyzes the place of the revolution in our historical epoch and lays the groundwork for its revival, a projection borne out in recent years by mounting anti-bureaucratic struggle in the workers states, exemplified most notably by the Hungarian Revolution. The publication of this speech is all the more fitting in that 1967 marks the revolution's fiftieth anniversary.

The English edition of this pamphlet is also available, at 15¢ per copy from The Vanguard Bookstore, 824 Yonge St., Toronto 5, Ont.

Que. Committee Backs Imperilled Hugo Blanco

Efforts to mobilize Canadian support for the world-wide campaign to win amnesty for the imperilled Peruvian peasant leader

Hugo Blanco have taken a big leap forward with the formation of the Quebec Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Répression au Pérou.

A considerable number of eminent Canadians have protested Blanco's imprisonment and protested against ominous moves to destroy him. Early in April Blanco was set upon by armed guards at the El Fronton fortress prison at Lima, Peru, and brutally beaten. The circumstances surrounding the beating of Blanco and a fellow political prisoner, Eduardo Juan Creus Gonzales, leads one to fear that the Peruvian military authorities are planning to have the famous prisoner killed.

The formation of the Quebec Committee late in April is indeed a welcome one for it opens up possibilities of deepening the Canadian protest — into the mass organizations, and even setting up a Canada-wide movement.

To such prominent members of Toronto academic circles as C. B. MacPherson, Kenneth McNaught, leading academics in Alberta, Professor T. B. Bottomore of Simon Fraser University, and NDP leader Neil Reimer, are now added such prominent Quebec intellectuals as: Jean-Louis Roux, directeur du Théâtre du Nouveau-Monde; Pierre LeFrançois of the Union Générale des Etudiants du Québec, Pierre Maheu of the Mouvement laïc de langue française, Thérèse Casgrain and René Hurtibise of the Ligue des Droits de l'homme, Claude Lagadec and Jacques Dofny of the Syndicat des Professeurs de l'Université de Montréal, and others.

(See page 3)

Que Blanco Committee

(continued from page 1)

Tom Clarke of the Vancouver IWA and Paddy Neale, secretary of the Vancouver Labour Council (AFL-CIO/CLC) have expressed their solidarity with the Peruvian trade union militant. Now the Quebec Committee 'has won the support of the Quebec Federation of Labour. The QFL, over the signature of its secretary general Gérard Rancourt, has sent out a petition for signatures to every union local in the province. It is addressed to Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry and asks for the freedom and pardon of Blanco and all other political prisoners.

The Quebec committee has attracted considerable public attention. Professor André Gunder Frank of Sir George Williams University, and an international authority on Latin America, has spoken on behalf of the committee over both radio and TV. The April 29 issue of *La Presse*, the largest circulation French daily in America, devoted half a page to an article by Jorges Girard on the Committee, Hugo Blanco, and the struggle in Peru.

The article reports that the petition, which it reproduces in full, is not only being circulated amongst unionists but in student and artistic circles. Girard not only reports on the extensive international support for Blanco's amnesty but describes in some detail the condition of the people of Peru, and Blanco's efforts to lead an effective struggle against these conditions.

Signed petitions from all over the province are coming into the committee's headquarters at 54 Boulevard Guinn, Longueuil, Québec, and plans are being laid to step up activities.

Letter From Blanco

El Fronton, March 10, 1967.

To the Committee to Free Hugo Blanco — Canada:

Brothers, some time ago I was informed of the existence of your committee and it was my duty to have answered sooner. But it is not easy to write to a committee that bears one's name.

A revolutionary is naturally an optimist. However, the magnitude of the international solidarity with our struggle has astounded me. How near our triumph! I understand the significance of your solidarity. You feel the hunger of my people. You feel the pain of our chains. You struggle to help us break them.

You know and we know that at the risk of death or not, with the threat of jails or not, the day of victory approaches with giant strides. And that it is not the work of individuals but of all the people.

Ultimately it is of little importance if I am killed or not, if I continue imprisoned or not. What is important is that you have extended your arm to stop the bullets, to tear away the bars. That is what is important comrades, important as a symbol, as an example that human solidarity extends throughout the world and will drown the enemies of Man.

A poet of my country, dead when the solidarity had filled his chest, tried to explain in the following, the power of it:

MASS

At the end of the battle,
and dead the combatant, a man approached him
and said, "Don't die, I love you so much".
But the body, oh!, continued dying.

There approached him two, and they repeated to him:
"Don't leave us! Valor! Return to life!"
But the body, oh!, continued dying.

Approached him twenty, one hundred, a thousand, five hundred thousand,
clamoring: "So much love and nothing to stop this death".
But the body, oh!, continued dying.

Millions surrounded him with a common plea: "Stay brother!"
But the body, oh!, continued dying.

Then, all the men of the earth surrounded him,
and the body, sad, emotional, raised itself up slowly
embraced the first men and started to walk . . .

Cesar Vallejo

That, brothers, is how we here understand your solidarity.

With a firm embrace,

HUGO BLANCO

Published monthly by The Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

The policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers Vanguard. Set by Union Labor.

Subscription \$1.00 a year (12 issues)
Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa,
and for payment of postage in cash.

Que Labor Demands Release Hugo Blanco

MONTREAL — So far more than 4,500 Québec workers have joined in a call for the release of the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and his comrades. More signatures are coming in daily in response to an appeal issued by the Québec Federation of Labour (AFL-CIO/CLC) urging support for the case of Hugo Blanco, now serving a 25 year sentence in the notorious fortress prison of El Fronton.

The appeal circulated through every CLC union local in the province over the signature of Secretary-General Gérard Rancourt, reminded Québec unionists that; "We have always proclaimed our belief in the international solidarity of the workers", and challenged, "Now is the time to prove it by signing the petition in favor of Hugo Blanco." The appeal is reproduced in full elsewhere on this page.

The Association des Pompiers de Montréal (Firemen's Union) responded very quickly. It returned

the petition demanding the release of Blanco and his comrades with the inscription; "4,000 firemen demand their freedom."

The petition was initiated by The Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru with which Gérard Rancourt, who also represents Le Comité pour la défense des droits de l'homme has associated himself. Among other prominent Québec unionists associated with the committee are; Hildège Dupuis and Yvan Brunet of the Fédération des Ingénieurs de la Ville de Montréal, André L'Heureux and Pierre Vadeboncoeur of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, the other major Québec trade union body, Jean-Guy Frenette of the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec, Fernand Daoust of the Syndic International des Travailleurs des Industries pétrolières, chimiques et atomiques (FTQ), and Michel Chartrand of the Syndicat des Métiers de l'Imprimerie.

Que. Labor Statement

QUEBEC FEDERATION
OF LABOUR
3333 Metropolitan boul. E.,
Suite 500,
Montreal 38, P.Q.

Montreal, April 6, 1967

TO ALL AFFILIATED
LOCALS AND TO STAFF
MEMBERS OF THE FTQ.

Dear Brother and Sister:

As you will quickly see from reading the two short documents attached, the life of the unionist Hugo Blanco is in danger in Peru, because of his peasant trade union activity.

The whole world is alerted. The trade union movement is in solidarity with Blanco and his comrades. The QFL and its affiliates must do their part to save these unionists from the death sentence.

That is why we are asking you to sign the attached petition and to have it signed by your members. We want you to obtain the greatest possible number of signatures, using supplementary sheets of blank paper, and to send them back as soon as possible, using the return envelope enclosed.

We have always proclaimed our belief in the international solidarity of workers. Now is the time to prove it by signing the petition in favour of Hugo Blanco.

Fraternally,
Gérard Rancourt,
secretary general

HUGO BLANCO MUST NOT DIE!

Background and scope of the international campaign for amnesty for the Peruvian peasant leader, plus an address by the noted authority on Latin America;

ANDRE GUNDER FRANK

30 cents a copy, 4 for \$1

Robert McCarthy
Massey College
4 Devonshire Place
Toronto, Canada

Guevara Speaks Out breaks long silence

(from Workers' Vanguard, May 1967)

by John Wilson

Cuba's recent publication of Ernesto "Che" Guevara's first public statement since he left that country is an event of international political significance. "Vietnam and the World Struggle for Freedom" is a document which will be studied across the world by all serious participants in the struggle for socialism.

The very appearance of the document gives the definitive lie to the considerable outpouring of gossip and slander produced by detractors of the Cuban revolution, whether of the pro-imperialist or ultraleft variety, since Che's original departure. It confirms the transfer to a new field of battle of this famous revolutionary leader. From there he speaks out intransigently in the cause of Cuba and all Latin American revolutionaries who are struggling to maintain and develop a consistent revolutionary policy.

Che's article gives his overall view of the current world situation, emphasizing throughout the international character of the fight against imperialism, the necessity of armed struggle and the fact that the only road forward for the colonial world is **socialist** revolution.

Significantly, he does not so much as mention the concept of "peaceful coexistence", and he attacks those who promote the idea of a "détente" with imperialism in some parts of the world while the conflict in Vietnam rages on to a possible global confrontation. In part, he says: "It is not my intention ... to give an account of the various conflicts of a local nature that have occurred since Japan surrendered. Neither is it our task to cite the numerous and growing civil struggles that have broken out in these years of so-called peace. It is sufficient to offer as examples countering the excessive optimism, the wars in Korea and Vietnam."

Much of Che's article revolves around the war in Vietnam, as the center of the confrontation between the forces of the socialist revolution and imperialism. He renews the call of the Cuban leadership for a united front of the workers states to give maximum material aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In particular, he is bitterly critical of the Soviet and Chinese leaders for their miserable, cowardly and half-hearted aid to the Vietnam revolution.

"There is a painful reality: Vietnam, this nation representing the aspirations, the hopes for victory of an entire disinherited world, is tragically alone. . . "The solidarity of the progressive world for the Vietnamese people has something of the bitter irony faced by the gladiators in the Roman Circus when they won the applause of the plebs. . . When we analyze the isolation of the Vietnamese we feel anguished over its logical meaning for humanity..."

He addresses the Soviet and Chinese leaders: "North American imperialism is guilty of aggression. Its crimes are immense and known to the whole world. We already know this, gentlemen! But they are likewise guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory. . ."

"And they are guilty who keep up a war of insults and tripping each other, begun some time ago by the representatives of the two big powers in the socialist camp. "We ask, in order to get an honest answer: is Vietnam isolated or not, doing a dangerous balancing act between the two disputing powers?"

To their attitude and posture he contrasts the spirit of the Vietnamese : "And — what grandeur has been shown by this people! What stoicism and valor in this people! And what a lesson for the world their struggle holds!"

He restates the Cuban position that, while the issues in dispute in the international Communist movement are important and vital, the overriding necessity is a united front of the anticapitalist forces to defend Vietnam.

Proceeding from an analysis of the situation in different areas of the globe, Guevara comes to the conclusion that the most explosive confrontations will still occur in the colonial sectors. While he makes mention of the contradictions existing in the imperialist countries, he does not, unfortunately, develop his view of the relative importance and weight of social struggles in these countries. For example, no direct mention is made of the significant growth of the U.S. anti-war movement.

Naturally enough, Latin America occupies a prominent position in Che's document. Here he issues a fighting call for socialist revolution that will inspire genuine revolutionary elements anywhere in the world. In the light of current polemics in the Latin American left, he makes his position on two pivotal issues unmistakably clear — on the necessity for a **socialist** revolution and on the inevitability of resorting to armed struggle. About the latter, he declares: "It is absolutely correct to avoid any useless sacrifice. Because of this it is extremely important to be clear on the actual possibilities which dependent Latin America has to free itself in a peaceful way.

"The answer to this question is clear to us — the present moment may or may not be the one indicated to initiate a struggle, but we cannot permit ourselves to harbor any illusions; we have no right to believe that freedoms can be won without a struggle."

Earlier, he talks about the prostration of the native ruling classes before the imperialists: ". . . the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism, if they ever had any — and constitute only a source of supplies for it. "No other changes can be made; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution."

In terms of the Latin American revolution, Che advances the concept that the armed struggles in the various countries must be coordinated so that U.S. imperialism will not be able to concentrate its enormous and fiendishly armed repressive forces in one country such as it has done in Vietnam. He states in part: "This is the Vietnamese road; the road which the peoples must follow, the road which the Americas will follow, with the special feature that armed groups can establish something like coordinating committees to make the repressive task of Yankee

imperialism more difficult and to help their own cause. "The Americas . . will undertake a much more outstanding task — the creation of a second or third Vietnam, or the world's second or third Vietnam.

A somewhat regrettable omission in Guevara's article is that he does not go into the important differences that exist within the Latin American vanguard forces on such questions as the validity of guerrilla methods of struggle applied to particular countries and situations, and other differences which are rather crucial to the strategy of the struggle. He does not for example mention the imperiled Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco, who has important differences with him on the question of guerrilla warfare.

Che Guevara, as revealed by his article, is a revolutionary optimist, but one who stresses the necessity of understanding the terrible sacrifices that will be required, as in Vietnam, to forward the day of victory.

Canadian revolutionary socialists inside imperialist North America greet with solidarity Che Guevara's inspiring call to struggle. We can be confident that the peoples of the exploited and oppressed colonial world whom he addresses will respond. It would befit the Kremlin (*seat of government in Moscow*) and Peking to reflect that he expresses the opinions of the best revolutionists in three continents!

Subscribe Now to

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

\$1.00 for 12 issues, \$2.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

Name.....

Address.....

May 1967

#129

Fund Drive Tops Aim

The Quebec Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the League for Socialist Action in Toronto, Vancouver and in other points across the country, celebrated May Day in high spirits.

The main theme of the meetings and banquets was opposition to imperialist wars, and international working class solidarity — and on this May Day — solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

But it was not only the tremendous success of the April 15 anti-Vietnam war mobilizations which everyone agreed mark a new turn for the anti-war movement. There was great jubilation about the success — the stunning response to this year's fund drive, that came to a climax on May 1st. It was reported to the meetings and banquets that the joint *Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvriere* drive went over its objective by almost \$1,250.

The objective was to raise \$8,000 in order to publish the *Vanguard* on a twice monthly basis starting October 1st. Never has any Canadian Trotskyist press drive set itself such a high objective — and none has gone so far over its objective.

Everywhere the objectives were oversubscribed. Toronto went almost \$700 over. Vancouver, almost \$150,

with twice that amount still to come in. The same goes for Edmonton and Ottawa. The LSO will end up with more than \$150 over its objective.

As Al Engler pointed out to the 80 guests at the Vancouver banquet, this is testimony to the growth of the league and enthusiasm in its ranks such as exists in no other tendency.

The LSO celebrated not only the success of the joint drive but the publication of a new pamphlet, Marx et Engels, *Sur le Parti Ouvrier* (On the Labor Party).

The highlight of the well attended Toronto banquet was the address by Tom Kerry, editor of the U.S. Marxist journal *International Socialist Review*, and veteran trade unionist. The Socialist Workers Party of the U.S., in a fine gesture of solidarity, supplied not only Kerry to Toronto but Asher Harer who was the feature speaker at the Vancouver banquet. The response to their speeches was in turn a gesture of solidarity with the anti-war movement in the U.S., in which the SWP and YSA have played an important part, and on which the eyes of the world are focussed.

The editors of the *Vanguard* are grateful for the tremendous support that their appeal has received. All our readers can be confident that every effort will be made to have the twice monthly *Vanguard* on October 1st measure up to their high anticipation.



Que. Labor Boosts July 1 Mobilization Against Viet War

FLASH — A massive mobilization of Québec anti-war forces is shaping up. Both labor federations have now endorsed the July 1st call—the Canadian Labour Congress affiliates, the Fédération de Travail du Québec (QFD) and the independent Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CNTU). The entire Montréal region of the independentist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, and the influential journal of the Dominican Order, MAINTENANT, are both behind the demonstration. So too are the Québec New Democratic Party Youth and two prominent former NDP candidates, Geoffrey Adams and Laurier Lapierre.

The July 1st rally in Montréal promises to be the most powerful Canadian action yet held in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The call to "Take Vietnam to Expo" has met an impressive response across the whole of Canada. The call, printed by the Toronto Coordinating Committee to End the War, points out the hypocrisy of Expo 67, which maintains complete silence on the most crucial aspect of "Man and His World" today — the genocidal war of aggression waged by the U.S. government against the Vietnamese people.

It calls on Canadians from all

parts of the country to rally in Montréal July 1st, where centennial celebrations will be reaching their peak, to firmly establish the real facts of Canadian complicity in the war, and demand self-determination for the Vietnamese, and an immediate end to the war.

Among the dozens of sponsors of the action listed on the call are Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, prominent Quebec NDPer Laurier Lapierre, War Crimes Tribunal investigator Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, writer June Callwood, Joe Young (chairman of the Students Association to End the War) Reverends John Morgan and James Endicott, and a list of eminent academics headed by C. B. MacPherson and Northrup Frye of the University of Toronto and T. B. Bottomore of Simon Fraser University.

A broadly based mobilization committee for the action has been

established in Montréal. It includes prominent Québec trade unionists, and leading members of the Montréal faculty anti-war committee. It has established close collaboration with the independentist RIN through a number of RIN riding associations. It also includes the student committees at the Université de Montréal and two other campuses, and the community based Voix du Québec sur le Vietnam.

The Toronto Coordinating Committee has organized a massive mobilization of anti-war forces in that city. Eighty thousand copies of the call are being distributed, along with six thousand posters. Weekly speakouts on the Vietnam war are held in City Hall Square, where the excellent response has raised confidence that seats on Toronto's 14 buses will be sold out by July 1st.

Two buses have been chartered from Ottawa; a busload is being organized from London, and participation is expected from several other points in Ontario.

Yet surely the most impressive response is that from Vancouver anti-war activists, who have organized a train to Expo! Thirty tickets have already been sold for the grueling 3,000 mile trip to Montréal, and the Expo train will be picking up citizens at various points across the Prairies.

Participants will gather at 2:00 p.m., July 1st, in Dominion Square, Montréal, where there will be a dramatic presentation by the Montréal "Living Theatre", and other performances. They will then march to a rally in Lafontaine Park, traditional site of July 1st demonstrations.

Among French and English, students and working people, from Vancouver across the country, the mobilization is underway. All out for July 1st.

NPD-Quebec Convention Evades Provincial Arena

MONTREAL — "The very use of the word socialism is a striking example of our doctrinarism... it seems obvious to me that a political party must win elections"; these comments from the keynote address by Laurier Lapierre established the leadership-inspired tone and direction for the May 12-14 convention of the NPD-Québec. The 255 delegates, overwhelmingly French, represented riding associations across the province, a bloc of affiliated QFL unions, and the largely English-Canadian youth section. A number of CNTU members were also present from riding associations.

While the convention suffered from a lack of political discussion, two important resolutions on foreign affairs were adopted. The convention branded the United States as the sole aggressor in the internal struggle of the Vietnamese people, called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Vietnam, and called on the federal NDP caucus to demand the cessation of Canadian arms sales to the U.S. It also called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO, although it, unfortunately went on to suggest that the funds thereby saved be allocated to the United Nations for "peace-keeping purposes."

The convention proceedings were smooth and hum-drum — at no point was there so much as a threat to the politics and bureaucratic domination by the Cliche-Taylor-Lapierre leadership. A Democratic Caucus, with support from some sectors of the riding associations and the youth, limited its challenges to uncoordinated criticisms on purely organizational questions. Although socialist views were presented, and were often well received, this was done individually and in the absence of any left caucus, left no room for doubt as to the results, when the executive elections rolled round. Four members of the Democratic Caucus slate promptly withdrew their candidacies and the leadership slate captured 8 of the 9 bloc officers and the full 13 executive members at large.

The political highpoints of the convention were the adoption in principle of "The Special Status of Quebec with Reference to Canadian Nationalism" and "Prerequisites for Economic Independence" both authored by Charles Taylor. The convention delegates caught a glimpse of the important document on which Canada in the Saturday edi-

tion of *La Presse*, but received it themselves only later when the discussion was opened and were caught unprepared to challenge its concepts. The document is a poor one, offering no solution to the national question in French Canada. It fails to affirm the right of self-determination of French Canada — an elementary democratic right — and offers no analysis of confederation as the political vehicle, designed by, and serving in the interests of, the forces of Canadian capitalism. Rather, it accepts confederation and proposes a few jurisdictional modifications to give Québec some additional powers. It fails even to affirm the presence of two nations in Canada, confining itself to a "Canadian cultural duality". In short, it presented nothing to advance a socialist discussion of the national question.

Considerable debate preceded the adoption by a 68-40 vote of the second document which dealt with the widely-discussed question of regaining control of the Canadian economy. The principal thesis of the document is that the only "practical" approach to the question is to make Canada competitive on the world capitalist market. It suggests that the government sponsor industrial and scientific research with a view to developing an economy, highly specialized and efficient in a few select areas, in the manner of Japan in the electronics and ship-building fields. Tariff barriers and anti-trust laws would be lowered and free competition encouraged. All of this would occur in the private, pub-

(See page 4)

REPORT OF BC NDP CONVENTION

by Special Correspondent

VANCOUVER — Robert Strachan has maintained his hold on the leadership of the BC New Democratic Party. Labor lawyer Tom Berger started his campaign for the provincial party leadership six weeks prior to the convention. He wound up his campaign on the convention floor on June 3-5 weekend. In that period neither contestant called for a re-evaluation of the party's direction or role. Berger attacked Strachan for lack of organizational leadership. Strachan defended his role and inferred that if there was any deficiency then Berger is as responsible as anyone.

Berger tried to present himself

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 10 (130) Mid-June, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Israeli Govt's 'Blitzkrieg' Conquest Setback for Anti-war Movement

Based on an article in
World Outlook

The swift outcome of the confrontation in the Middle East — a military victory for Israel — is being pictured in the West as a gain for "peace", if only a temporary one.

It was, however, a setback for the colonial revolution and by that token a blow to the forces standing in the way of the U.S. imperialist course towards another world war.

The Middle East crisis, following hard on the heels of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam to such a pitch as to give rise to forebodings on all sides that perhaps the opening stage of World War III had already begun, divided international public opinion into two broad camps.

On the one side stood the Israeli government, powerfully backed by U.S. imperialism, deftly abetted by Harold Wilson and cheered on by such notorious figures as Nguyen Cao Ky and Chiang Kai-shek. On the other side stood the masses of colonial people beginning with North Africa and ranging through India and China around the world to Cuba.

The colonial peoples hoped for an Arab victory. It was their pressure that induced even pro-imperialist regimes, such as King Hussein of Jordan, Hassan II of Morocco and Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia to line up against the Israeli government.

The Jewish communities outside of Israel were swept by chauvinism. Even participants in the anti-Vietnam war movements were caught

up in the fever. The International War Crimes Tribunal did not escape unscathed, no less than Jean-Paul Sartre joining the Israeli side. Rabbi Feinberg tortuously explained why he opposes Washington's intervention in the Far East and advocates it in the Middle East.

The most important shift by far, however, was the one taken by the Kremlin. Brezhnev-Kosygin led the Arabs, particularly Nasser, to believe that they would support them in the confrontation with Israel and its imperialist backers. However, after the single military round in which the Israeli government pulled its combination "Pearl Harbour" and "Blitzkrieg" — as it has been freely and favorably described in the daily press — the Kremlin capitulated to the U.S. after secret talks in the corridors of the United Nations.

Nasser hinted obliquely at a betrayal in his announcement of "resignation". President Johnson, he said, handed the UAR ambassador a message May 26 "asking us for restraint and not to be the first to open fire. Otherwise we would face serious consequences."

"The same night," continued Nasser, "the Soviet ambassador asked to see me urgently at 3:30 A.M. and told me that the Soviet government strongly requested we should not be the first to open fire. On the morning of last Monday, June 5, the enemy struck."

The betrayal committed by the Kremlin does not, of course, excuse the role of Nasser in leading the Arab people into the military trap set by the Israeli government and

of that past. Most delegates had their minds made up weeks prior to the convention. In most riding meetings delegates were chosen on the basis of who they supported for leader. After the 455 delegates cast their vote the convention proceeded as though nothing had happened in the previous six weeks.

The convention reaffirmed the liberal-reformist direction of the party. None of the resolutions that were submitted to the convention called for fundamental social changes. Resolutions on Vietnam expressed the developing concern in the party on the direction and role of the U.S. in this war. Some of the

(See page 3)

(See page 3)

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 10 (130) Mid-June, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

REPORT OF BC NDP CONVENTION

by Special Correspondent

VANCOUVER — Robert Strachan has maintained his hold on the leadership of the BC New Democratic Party. Labor lawyer Tom Berger started his campaign for the provincial party leadership six weeks prior to the convention. He wound up his campaign on the convention floor on June 3-5 weekend. In that period neither contestant called for a re-evaluation of the party's direction or role. Berger attacked Strachan for lack of organizational leadership. Strachan defended his role and inferred that if there was any deficiency then Berger is as responsible as anyone.

Berger tried to present himself

as an organizer pulling the party together by province-wide tours which would become regular features in the party under his leadership. He tried to create an image of a professional approach to the structure and policies of the party. It became obvious that he misjudged the composition of the party.

Strachan, who was forced to make a provincial tour to defend his leadership, realized that although the party has increased its membership its composition remains basically the same. He played on the fears of the old party members who saw the party losing more and more of its socialist heritage. He presented himself as the defender

of that past. Most delegates had their minds made up weeks prior to the convention. In most riding meetings delegates were chosen on the basis of who they supported for leader. After the 455 delegates cast their vote the convention proceeded as though nothing had happened in the previous six weeks.

The convention reaffirmed the liberal-reformist direction of the party. None of the resolutions that were submitted to the convention called for fundamental social changes. Resolutions on Vietnam expressed the developing concern in the party on the direction and role of the U.S. in this war. Some of the

(See page 3)

(continued from page 1)

resolutions designated the U.S. as the aggressor and demanded U.S. withdrawal.

This convention saw the socialist and trade union forces weak and divided. The trade union representation was proportionately much smaller. Not only was the delegation smaller, it was leaderless. The socialist caucus was less effective on the floor of the convention as well as in the informal discussions among the delegates.

The leadership contest effectively pushed programmatic discussion off the floor. On the question of the leadership the Socialist Caucus took the position that there was no policy or programmatic difference between the two contestants. In an open letter which was distributed to the delegation it called on both Berger and Strachan to take positions in opposition to expulsions, in support of public ownership of the forest industry, and involving

the party in mass actions in opposition to the Vietnam war.

More significant to the NDP in the long run than this leadership struggle was the publication by the Socialist Caucus of a pamphlet on the forest industry. This pamphlet reviews very briefly the history of how MacMillan of MacMillan-Bloedel made his huge fortune and built his empire. It goes into the history of the woodworkers in B.C. and shows how they had to fight to get the most minimal conditions and how they finally won union recognition. It outlines the history of CCF-NDP policy on the forest industry, tracing the change from a demand for public ownership to one of building mutual confidence between the public, management and labor.

Another section of the pamphlet traces the increase in productivity per worker. It illustrates how this productivity increase was almost entirely piled up into profits and not

benefits to the workers. It shows that had the workers benefitted from the productivity increases they would now be working a 28 hour week. The pamphlet makes a powerful case for nationalization, arguing that there is no other way to plan or control the economy of the province unless this major industry is publicly owned and democratically controlled.

The impact that this pamphlet will have on future party policy cannot be determined now. Certainly the brisk sale it enjoyed manifested the interest of the party ranks in this pivotal question for the NDP.

The Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee, which had a large selection on a display table, sold a great deal of literature on Vietnam. There was probably more literature sold at this convention than at any previous NDP Convention. One reason for this was that this was by far the largest convention of the B.C. section of the NDP.

The large delegation reflected the concern of many old time CCFers that Strachan should remain as leader. No new forces were brought into the party and the size of this convention does not mean an upsurge in interest in the NDP. The party is now, as before, faced with the challenge of reaching the trade unionists and the youth who are looking for solutions.

NPD-Quebec Convention Evades Provincial Arena

MONTREAL — "The very use of the word socialism is a striking example of our doctrinairism . . . it seems obvious to me that a political party must win elections"; these comments from the keynote address by Laurier Lapierre established the leadership-inspired tone and direction for the May 12-14 convention of the NPD-Québec. The 255 delegates, overwhelmingly French, represented riding associations across the province, a bloc of affiliated QFL unions, and the largely English-Canadian youth section. A number of CNTU members were also present from riding associations.

While the convention suffered from a lack of political discussion, two important resolutions on foreign affairs were adopted. The convention branded the United States as the sole aggressor in the internal struggle of the Vietnamese people, called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Vietnam, and called on the federal NDP caucus to demand the cessation of Canadian arms sales to the U.S. It also called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO, although it, unfortunately went on to suggest that the funds thereby saved be allocated to the United Nations for "peace-keeping purposes."

The convention proceedings were smooth and hum-drum — at no point was there so much as a threat to the politics and bureaucratic domination by the Cliche-Taylor-Lapierre leadership. A Democratic Caucus, with support from some sectors of the riding associations and the youth, limited its challenges to uncoordinated criticisms on purely organisational questions. Although socialist views were presented, and were often well received, this was done individually and in the absence of any left caucus, left no room for doubt as to the results, when the executive elections rolled around. Four members of the Democratic Caucus slate promptly withdrew their candidacies and the leadership slate captured 8 of the 9 table officers and the full 13 executive members at large.

The political highpoints of the convention were the adoption in principle of "The Special Status of Quebec with Reference to Canadian Dualism" and "Prerequisites for Economic Independence" both authored by Charles Taylor. The convention delegates caught a glimpse of the important document on French Canada in the Saturday edi-

tion of *La Presse*, but received it themselves only later when the discussion was opened and were caught unprepared to challenge its concepts. The document is a poor one, offering no solution to the national question in French Canada. It fails to affirm the right of self determination of French Canada — an elementary democratic right — and offers no analysis of confederation as the political vehicle, designed by, and serving in the interests of, the forces of Canadian capitalism. Rather, it accepts confederation and proposes a few jurisdictional modifications to give Québec some additional powers. It fails even to affirm the presence of two nations in Canada, confining itself to a "Canadian cultural duality". In short, it presented nothing to advance a socialist discussion of

the national question.

Considerable debate preceded the adoption by a 68-40 vote of the second document which dealt with the widely-discussed question of regaining control of the Canadian economy. The principal thesis of the document is that the only "practical" approach to the question is to make Canada competitive on the world capitalist market. It suggests that the government sponsor industrial and scientific research with a view to developing an economy, highly specialised and efficient in a few select areas, in the manner of Japan in the electronics and ship-building fields. Tariff barriers and anti-trust laws would be lowered and free competition encouraged. All of this would occur in the private, pub-

(See page 4)

Subscribe to

Young Socialist Forum

the voice of Canada's socialist youth
Start with the May-June special
featuring

CONFEDERATION

contents

How they devised Confederation

by Jacquie Henderson

100 Years of heroic struggle

by Harry Stone

Today — myth and reality

by Ian Angus

The next leap ahead

by Ross Dowson

YSF

special issue 25 cents a copy
regularly 75 cents for 6 issues

32 CECIL STREET

TORONTO 2B, ONT.

NPD-Quebec Convention

(continued from page 1)

lic, and joint sectors with no particular emphasis towards nationalising, and foreign cartels would be free to expand their hold on other areas of the economy.

Many delegates disagreed with the report. William Lenihan, a youth leader, urged its defeat because it failed to challenge the U.S. domination of the economy and it did not project a socialist society. He called for heavy taxes on U.S. corporations, declaring that "Canadian ownership is a precondition for socialism". A more correct socialist criticism was entered by other delegates, who pointed out that it was misleading to call for measures against foreign companies, while allowing free rein to the native capitalists to extract their profits. They argued that a strong, wealthy, and independent capitalist class rules Canada in collaboration with U.S. capital, that one could not divide the struggle in Canada into two stages — first for independence, then for socialism — and that the only serious alternative to the Taylor report was that of abolishing capitalism by nationalising the decisive sectors of the economy, foreign and local, in the fashion of Cuba and the other workers' states.

These reports and discussions revealed clearly the political approach of the leadership of the NPD Québec, an approach of complete acceptance of the bourgeois order, while advancing reforms to make it operate more efficiently — reforms barely distinguishable from those advanced by the Québec Liberals and the separatist RIN.

The organisational side of these politics were evident in the failure of the convention to decide to enter the arena of provincial politics. In fact the matter was not even on

the agenda, and a proposal from the floor to add it for consideration was defeated in a 5-3 split. It is clear that, in spite of the labor character of the party, a fact which has won it a growing base of working class support, the leadership sees the Québec section largely as a lobby for the Canadian NDP — a machine which should do its best to elect federal members by cultivating "friends" in the bourgeois Union National and Liberal parties, while agreeing, in return, to abstain from the provincial scene.

The concept of building a mass labor base under the party, is rejecting at this time by the Cliche, Taylor, Lapierre leadership. Nor is it held at this time by the bureaucracy which rules the Québec trade union movement, with great influence over the NPD itself. This was apparent when the convention was addressed by messieurs Laberge, Pépin, and Laliberté of the QFL, CNTU, and Catholic Teachers Union, respectively. Although Laberge pledged to increase donations to pay for several full time NPD organisers for political work in the unions, he did not call for large scale affiliation by locals to the NPD. Laberge was content to leave relations as they now are and point to the motion of support for the NPD carried at the last QFL convention.

Even more aloof were Pépin and Laliberté, who commented on the "classless" character of Québec society, and their own political "independence". They discounted the need for direct political action by the workers' organisations. How different were the speeches of these opportunist class collaborationists from their radical phrasemongering and empty threats about political

action during the teachers' strike!

The May 29 by-election followed immediately on the heels of the convention. Particular effort was made in the Outremont campaign, which drew well over 200 workers. Here the approach enunciated by Lapierre at the convention was applied to the full — a prestigious former Liberal bigwig as candidate, leaflets which called for "efficiency" and a "winning team", with no mention of housing, rising prices and anti-labor laws, let alone the national oppression of French Canada and the war in Vietnam. Support from *Le Devoir*, and from some elements of the Québec Liberals and the RIN was forthcoming, and with a caretaker Liberal and no Tory candidate in the field, the situation from the brass' point of view was model.

The leadership dubbed Outremont a 'great victory'. What are the facts? The electorate, while disenchanted with the bourgeois parties, saw no alternative in the program of the NPD and abstained in large numbers. These abstentions (70% in Outremont, 80% in Papineau) are the key feature of the election. In fact, while the NPD percentages increased, the total Québec vote fell from 11,418 to 8,515 and the achievement in Outremont amounted to nothing more than adding 1,100 votes to the 1965 results to bring the totals to the 1963 level. The 'moral victory' is a rationalisation for the failure of the NPD to capture a Québec seat, in the leadership-directed campaigns.

It is high time that the left begin consideration of a socialist program for the NPD, and of the organisational methods needed to get such a program adopted, if the NPD is to play the great role open to it in Québec.

Alta. NDP Contest

By our

Edmonton Correspondent

EDMONTON — According to the *Journal* here, Alberta's most powerful newspaper, the provincial elections "handed the liberal left-leaning total welfare-staters a resounding rejection". According to the NDP *Commonwealth* "The New Democrats made an impressive advance."

With slightly more than 50% of the eligible voters casting their ballots, the NDP increased its popular vote from 9% to 16%, but lost its one seat in the house. The right wing 35 year old Social Credit regime dropped in popularity from 54% to 44%, though maintaining 55 of 65 seats in the legislature. Among the parties of the centre, the tweedledum Liberal party plummeted down into obscurity only to be replaced by the tweedledee Conservative opposition.

The NDP did make gains, but New Democrats, inspired by rising polls across the country, had hoped to at least form the opposition. The beginning of a shift away from Social Credit, and the see-sawing of opposition votes certainly indicated a beginning of restlessness in 'stable' Alberta. For the first time the NDP posed itself as a real alternative to Social Credit by running candidates in every riding, making it a real possible alternative to Social Credit.

The sting of defeat has been somewhat soothed by the increased popular vote, and the mood in NDP ranks is mainly of disappointment in not having made more gains. A favorable atmosphere has been created for a serious criticism of the party's direction.

An important document written by a member of the New Democratic Youth executive, and received very favorably by the provincial youth council, goes some distance in helping to understand the reasons for the setback. It points out that "... the avoidance of supposedly controversial policy (at least in public statements) and of a consistent

programmatic and ideological orientation, and concentration instead, on a morass of negative and quasi-liberal points, has confused the party member almost as much as it has the average voter."

The theme of the NDP's campaign was the "Open Society". For months before the election, and on every leaflet and in every speech during the election, the NDP leadership's main gambit was "impropriety" in government. They blasted Social Credit members for using their public office for personal gain in business deals, and the government's attempts to quash an enquiry into the matter called by NDP MLA Garth Turcott, and their subsequent calling of the election before the enquiry could report its findings.

While the Socreds, for all the religious sanctimony they surround themselves with, are undoubtedly a corrupt bunch, this fact could only have been used as an issue to advance the aims of the NDP if it were linked to the political nature of the Social Credit regime. Corruption is bound to exist in a government tied to big business interests. Without mentioning this small fact why should anyone believe that the NDP would necessarily have been different?

The NDP leadership went on to lampoon Manning personally for his "arrogance" and "paternalism", attributing this to the overconfidence brought on by longevity in office. "It's time for a change". Why not rather link his high-strutting manner and contempt for democratic norms to the powerful oil interests who back him, who view democracy as a necessary evil, a facade to disguise their backroom control of the economy and politics of the province. Though it is common coin in political circles that Social Credit is backed by the oil companies and the NDP by the unions, the NDP did not make this an issue, in its "Open Society" campaign. It simply called for disclosures of contributions to political parties over \$100,

but without drawing out the implications of such a demand.

In other words, the whole "Open Society" campaign appeared to most people as simply an irritating muck-raking campaign by the unscrupulous socialists, because the NDP didn't supply the motive behind Social Credit's "style" of government. The NDP only makes sense to Canadian workers if its class base and that of the big business parties are thoroughly revealed. This is the ABC of politics in Canada.

On the real provincial issue, the development of the Oil and Gas industry which makes the Alberta economy tick, the NDP hardly made the record, and even then, seldom with the actual NDP program, which called for nationalisation of the fabulously rich, though as yet untapped Tar Sands, and the raising of royalties on the rest of the industry.

On the question of Washington's assault on the freedom struggle of the Vietnamese people, and whose victory would set back the anti-colonialist struggle and strengthen the rule of monopoly capital in North America, on this question the NDP was totally silent. This is alleged not to be a provincial matter, despite the fact that the war is largely to blame for price inflation in Canada, an issue which the campaign did manage to at least mention, and besides, the interesting fact that the dominant company in Alberta is also the largest corporation in Vietnam, Imperial Oil.

Even the *Edmonton Journal*, which has seldom passed up a chance to red-bait the NDP, was forced to write an editorial entitled, "The oh-so-mild Alberta NDP". "The Alberta NDP's economic election policy statement is an odd document," they noted. "To read it, you'd think the collectivist fire had gone out of the socialists rendering them middle-of-the-roaders — even a little reactionary."

The essence of the NDP leadership's strategy was to run from the political issues, to run from the socialist working-class logic of the NDP onto the capitalist politicians' ground of gimmicky slogans and empty rhetoric. Rather than proudly standing up for socialism against "free enterprise" which Manning proclaimed to be the main issue in the campaign, the NDP leadership took the road of opportunism, helping to harden the cynical attitude most people have towards "politicians", making some wishy-washy gains on a wishy-washy program,

but failing to consciously develop solid roots for the NDP among discontented workers and impoverished farmers on a clearly anti-capitalist basis.

The NDY critique of the election quoted above puts much stress on the "organisational" failure of the party without making clear its relation to the political failures, which it does however recognize. It points out that the NDP has been, with unfortunate consequences, engaging in the worst sort of political action: "the concentration solely on electoral strategy." It notes the almost complete lack of life in the constituencies between elections where a grass roots movement must be built to assure the conquest and retention of power. Instead there is a provincial office which scours the province for money to mount advertising campaigns in the mass media. There is little attempt to establish continuing local organisations.

It is the lack of political education and a program of political activity between elections, e.g., participation in the anti-war movement and identification with labor struggles, that accounts more than anything else for the weakness of local organisations. The NDP's road to power lies in the building of a mass base of conscious activists. This can not be done on the thin gruel of 'propriety' in government and auto insurance. It must be inspired by a class struggle program holding out the possibility of a society planned totally in the interests of working people and farmers.

This is a difficult road, with many knocks and bruises for the leaders of such a movement along the way. It is obviously beyond the capabilities of the present NDP leadership, with its mania for parliamentary seats, and its commitment to the "safe" path of political tokenism, all of which flows, not as the youth document suggests". Perhaps from an extreme impatience to rid this province of the blight of Social Credit . . .", but rather from the leadership's nature as part of the privileged entrenched bureaucracy of the labor movement, who are careerists in the labor movement rather than fighters of their class, and whose economic position and social milieu place them above the pressures of the rank and file workers with whom they are increasingly losing touch.

This election has only confirmed again the need for New Democrats to join in the building of the Alberta Socialist Caucus to change this leadership.

Toronto Joins Intl. Protest for Debray

A campaign on behalf of French journalist Régis Debray, imprisoned in Bolivia since April 20, has been launched in Canada. It was initiated at a public protest meeting sponsored by Professors Donald Willmott (U of T), Edith Guild and Kenneth Golby (York U), and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The audience of some 65 persons heard a message of solidarity from Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review* and chairman of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. The message said in part: "Suppose Batista had caught (*New York Times* correspondent) Herbert Matthews and treated him similarly when he visited Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra in 1957. There would have been a great outcry in New York and Washington. It would have been said that the world was being denied access to important news. And is there any doubt that Batista would have been quickly brought to heel?"

"Let us cry out in protest and let us make our voices heard — not only out of solidarity with Régis Debray but in the interests of our sacred right to know the truth."

Hedda Garza, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, newsletter of the USLA Justice Committee, read the message and spoke on the Bolivian freedom struggle. Hans Modlich of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee chaired the meeting. In his opening comments he emphasized the strong identity of the Cuban leadership with the revolutionary struggles developing through Latin America, and quoted Che Guevara's appeal for more Vietnams, more revolutionary struggles to weaken American imperialism and liberate the peoples of Latin America. Robert McCarthy, graduate student in economics at the U of T, and a leading figure in the campaign to save the life of Hugo Blanco, imperilled Peruvian peasant leader, spoke on the Debray case.

Debray, a 26-year-old Frenchman

well-known for his writings on Latin American guerrilla movements, his latest book *Revolucion en la Revolución?* is being widely circulated by the Cuban Casa de las Americas, was arrested in a small town not



Régis Debray

far from where a new guerrilla front has been opened. He was in the company of two other journalists, one a British citizen, George Andrew Roth, the other an Argentinian citizen, Carlos Alberto Fructuoso.

General Barrientos, president of Bolivia, intervened in an unprecedented way to denounce Debray as an "adventurer who came to Bolivia to bring grief to Bolivian families. His adventures will end in Bolivia."

Since then, confronted with a widening international protest, the chief of the Bolivian armed forces has announced that Debray will be tried in accordance with the country's constitution — although to all intents and purposes the Bolivian constitution has been non-existent under the Barrientos dictatorship.

The Toronto meeting unanimously endorsed a protest to General Barrientos, demanding the release of Debray and his companions. A petition is being circulated and has been signed by a number of prominent academic figures.

JULY 1967

INTERNAL BULLETIN

CONTENTS

1. THESES ON QUEBEC p1
Adopted by the Plenum, July 9
2. NOTES ON THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT p6
3. OUR WORK IN THE NDP. p9
Adopted by the Plenum, July 8
4. NDP WORK PERSPECTIVES IN THE COMING PERIOD p13
By J. Connally

) transcribed July 89 - W14

) - W15

) - W15

DOCUMENTS OF THE 1967 PLENUM

JULY 6 - 11

TORONTO

(Appendage to "Our Work in the NDP")

By J. Connally

1-Convention Evaluation

The similarities and differences between the 1967 and 1965 federal conventions of the NDP have some significance for our work in the NDP. In general, the composition of the delegates, the prearranged nature of the discussion, and the staged proceedings reflected the hardening process described in the 1966 convention document, The NDP Hardens. In this context, the election to the presidency of "new wave" Jim Renwick over the CCF rooted Brockelbank reflects a rush by the leadership to new levels of professional sophistication in the Madison Avenue sense and a further consolidation of the break with the Party's radical CCF traditions as a class struggle peoples movement. Programmatically, the Party has continued on its rightward course, has rejected struggle against the Vietnam war, with its opportunist leadership hailing its opportunist political technique.

As in the 1965 convention, the caucus was able to gather around itself a few riding socialists and sustain itself financially. However, in contrast with the 1965 convention, the caucus was able to legitimize itself (this was the major task the caucus set before itself at the convention) on the floor and through sales and distribution of its literature. The decision by Party officials to permit sales of the caucus literature on the grounds that caucus supporters were "members of the Party" is an important precedent which in fact gives a certain formal recognition to the caucus. The absence of open hostility to the caucus and the effectiveness of the caucus social contrast sharply to the atmosphere around the last convention. Rather than pose the caucus as a bunch of screwballs, the bourgeois press for its own reasons presented the caucus as the Party's left wing. T.C. Douglas publicly admitted that the caucus has a right to put forward its views.

More than anything else the generally positive response to the caucus by a significant section of the delegates indicated the caucus tapped a certain uneasiness over the Party's course, especially on the issues of Vietnam and internal democracy. Renwick's election which saw over half the convention opt for a leadership change on this level with no prior preparations seems also to reflect this.

In general, the convention, in a dramatic way, demonstrated the rightward course of the Party with a reflection of the long range possibilities for the building of a viable left wing.

2-Leadership

Speculation in the press of cracks in the NDP leadership are unfounded. The leadership appears more consolidated than before and now almost entirely centred in "conservative" Ontario. Continued harassment of the socialists and expulsions can be expected notwithstanding the democratic atmosphere of the convention.

3-NDY

Since the Party is in general in firm control of the youth, the shift to the left is more a paper shift. Since the shift is seen as the work of the Socialist Caucus, the present NDY programme gives a certain programmatic base to

the caucus in the Party-adding to its legitimacy.

4-Work of the Caucus

There is no need to alter the basic evaluation of the caucus and the work perspectives outlined by the document Achievements of the Socialist Caucus circulated to the 1966 convention. What is needed is a more consistent application of that perspective. Concretely this means:

a) We are in favour of working to maintain the caucus in its unstructured and loose form so that it is capable of doing serious educational work in the Party as a loose grouping of socialists who are in general agreement on the necessity to win the NDP to a socialist programme.

b) Pushing to maintain the bulletin but on a more limited schedule.

c) Working to keep the caucus activity more in tune with its financial resources.

d) Advocating limiting caucus activity in general to conventions or conferences of the Party. For such events we think the caucus should continue to produce educational material like the pamphlets on Sweden and the B.C. forest industry on a money-making basis. This helps to present the caucus as a serious group in the Party.

e) We think the caucus should find ways to intervene in Party affairs so as to become more relevant to the membership. One method is to look for ways to differentiate between candidates in leadership contests where no apparent programmatic distinction is possible. In this way the caucus can give direction to the membership.

f) In general, the caucus has taken on an organizational character only at convention times. In this way, the existence of the caucus has become established, (the fruits of this are evident at the 1967 federal convention), and has developed a loose periphery in Ontario, Alberta, and B.C. In Ontario, this periphery has been extended into the trade union area where caucus figures have been working with militants and socialists in the federations and labour councils. We think this kind of work, which is essentially individual contact work, should be intensified. These amorphous contacts and groupings also tend to crystallize around events like conventions and seminars, and lay the basis for building serious NDP trade union left wings when conditions are more favourable.

5-General NDP Work

The above outline only emphasizes the main conclusions of Bannon's document. Without connections with the Party's organizations through regular attendance at constituency meetings, through our people taking executive posts, through keeping memberships up to date, we will be unable to get to Party forums like conventions and seminars, or be unable to seriously intervene against expulsions. Furthermore, the gains made at the 1967 federal convention will be lost if we allow ourselves to lose political and organizational contact with the NDP.

(end) -14-

-end-

July 28, 1967.

To the Vancouver branch executive

Dear Comrades;

We have received and considered your communication of July 23rd.

With regards to point one of your resolution; We do not know how to meet your request that we "absolve" comrade Miller of the "charge" you specify or any other "charge". Particularly when, as you yourselves note, even the alleged one was "unlaid."

What you consider to be quote, charges, unquote, apparently refer to a comment comrade Kent is alleged to have made in the course of an extended discussion and in the course of which many things were said by others, including comrade Miller. We do not understand why this particular alleged comment should be singled out from many made by Kent and other comrades.

We regret that this alleged "charge" has been brought into your executive as much as we would regret that others that might be considered to have been "unlaid" by comrade Kent, or Miller, or Paquette or Brandall, etc., etc. We cannot see that any purpose is served in respect to building our movement by pursuing this matter.

With regards to comrades Miller and Frazer moving to the center; You recommend that this decision remain inoperative until it can be reviewed by the next plenum, which, unless there is some unforeseen development, will not take place for another six months and possibly not before the next convention itself which is not slated for almost a year.

You supply us with no motivation for such an unusual recommendation. We doubt that you consider the question to be of such a momentous character that the body authorized by the central committee to see that its decisions are implemented between plenums and conventions, and authorized to conduct the affairs of the League, is not competent to cope with this problem. Perhaps you feel that the plenum did not fully consider possibly difficulties that would arise from its decision? If this is so we think that in order to permit us to give the consideration to this recommendation that it deserves you should motivate it.

As you know the Central Committee and the Political Committee are fully authorized to transfer party members from one branch to another as they see fit--in the overall interests of the movement. However we agree that it is desirable that the executive of the branch directly involved be consulted. We do not feel as your third point suggests that this desirable procedure was infringed upon in any real respect. Four members, a very high percentage of your executive, participated in the plenum. Prior to that particular session of the plenum both comrades Miller and Frazer had agreed to this proposal. This was not presumptuous on their part for early this Spring there had been a meeting with comrade Kent in Vancouver

attended by Miller, Frazer, Adair, R, R ,and N, where it was agreed, under only slightly different circumstances that comrade Miller ,adn comrade Frazer later, would leave for the east.

We hope that these comments will meet with your agreement

P. Kent for the P

NDP Fed. Rally Marks Further Shift to Right

BY J. CONNOLLY

More than any previous one, the 1967 federal convention of the New Democratic Party demonstrated the process which has seen the program of Canada's labour party, in the leadership's search for respectability, become more and more adapted to the pressures of big business interests and their spokesmen in Ottawa.

Over 900 delegates, reflecting the party's growing strength and popularity, attended the July 3-6 Toronto sessions. In the tradition of recent conventions, more time was allocated to guest speakers than to policy discussions.

The program was similar to that adopted at the 1965 convention, although with a different emphasis in a number of areas. The resolution on the Canadian economy was presented as a new turn in policy for the NDP. It was pushed as the key to solving the problem of Canadian independence, posed by the framers of the resolution as a major issue. That there was, subsequent to the session, some disagreement among the leadership on the emphasis given to Canadian independence reflects the fact that their economic policy itself was not new, merely the old formulas of economic controls in a mixed economy, with the system it-

self remaining essentially untouched, dressed up in a Canadian nationalist framework. A number of delegates raised this point and called on the convention to develop a policy from the point of view of the class realities of Canadian society. An attempt by a delegate from the Steelworkers to concretize this criticism by referring the resolution back to include a clause on nationalization of basic industries was defeated.

Quebec was approached in the same superficial way. Although the mood of the convention implicitly gave recognition to the French Canadian people as an oppressed nation, the resolution skirted over the real problems. The formula of Special Status was undefined and somewhat meaningless since the policy failed to recognize the Quebecois as a nation or concede them the right to self-determination. The leadership presented the policy as a tremendous step forward reflecting their desire to tap the national consciousness of the Quebecois for the next federal election, rather than seriously deal with the problem.

The Vietnam debate most dramatically exposed this opportunist approach of the leadership. The dozens of resolutions calling for a hard line against American aggression and Canadian complicity, and for more party action on the Vietnam issue reflected the overwhelming feeling of the delegates. When the officials brought the issue to the floor in the dying minutes of the third day of the convention, the delegates were lined up ten deep at the microphones. To the horror of the delegates Vietnam was buried in an executive resolution on foreign policy which covered everything from NORAD to foreign aid.

(See page 4)

NDP Shifts to Right

(continued from page 1)

The first speaker flayed the resolution for not dealing with Canadian complicity or calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. He received an ovation. The second speaker, West Coast Socialist Caucus leader Nick Shugalo, moved the resolution back to include a Rosedale constituency resolution which called on the party to set aside funds and personnel for a standing committee on Vietnam which would work with the provincial sections and the anti-war movement to build mass opposition to the war.

The referral was immediately attacked by the next speaker, who charged the mover with being involved in a plot to divert party resources to side issues. In the uproar that followed the chairman called the vote. The referral was defeated with many delegates thinking that its passage would have eliminated further discussion. Because of the intense feeling, the debate continued the following morning but much of the steam had dissipated as many of the delegates were preparing to go home.

It was in this context that MP Andrew Brewin, the party's foreign affairs spokesman, summed up the leadership's approach. "This party", he said, "is approaching the responsibilities of power. The party has now the responsibility of great influence. If we are to have influence with our friends . . . extreme bitter words must be avoided."

At this point there were cries from the floor of, "How does this differ from Paul Martin's and the Liberals' quiet diplomacy", and "This sounds like Harold Wilson's sell out in Britain". But the time

for discussion was over. The executive's tokenist resolution was voted on in an atmosphere of "better this, than nothing" and it passed with little opposition.

The leadership's approach to Vietnam in a startling way illustrated the dilemma facing the party. By opening the road to a Socialist Canada, Canada's labor party holds great promise for Canadian working people. And it can be said that the NDP is "approaching the responsibilities of power". All the more reason then for the party to deal seriously with the issues facing the Canadian working people. In continuing its opportunist and liberal-reformist course expressed in the various policy resolutions, and its abdication of the anti-Vietnam war struggle, the NDP leadership failed in this elementary responsibility.

Socialist delegates to the convention, especially those organized in the Socialist Caucus, attempted to raise the issues and explain the programmatic crisis facing the NDP. Although the convention as a whole did not respond, the intense concern manifested by the delegates on Vietnam indicates that the thousands of members who make up the NDP will in the long run not remain indifferent to the major issues before the party which demand a socialist solution.

Subscribe Now

Keep it coming regularly
by sending in \$1.00
for 12 issues to
WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland, Toronto 5

NDP Caucus Presented a Socialist Alternative

According to reports appearing in the daily press the 1967 NDP federal convention witnessed the crushing defeat of the left wing. The Lords of the Press have no small interest in presenting such a picture. For years they have been encouraging the continued rightward drift of the party — with the powerful *Toronto Star* pressing for the liquidation of the NDP into some new alignment with a Walter Gordon-led Liberal Party.

But in actuality the dramatic headlines reflected the effective and significant role of the delegates organized in the Socialist Caucus.

This grouping of socialists in the NDP was formed at the 1965 federal convention on the basis of the necessity to win the NDP to a socialist program. It has since been most active in the B.C., Alberta and Ontario sections of the party.

The caucus program distributed to the delegates posed the necessity for a socialist program and proposed policy statements on mobiliz-

ing serious opposition to the Vietnam war, uncompromising support for the rights and struggles of the working people, nationalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the building of a mass youth movement and the development and maintenance of internal party democracy.

The response to the program indicated that many delegates were interested in what the caucus has to say. This was also indicated in the sales of other caucus pamphlets including one making the case for the nationalization of the BC forest industry and another called "The Myth of Swedish Socialism" which exposed the social, political and economic realities of Swedish capitalism.

An important precedent was set early in the convention, after convention officials had forbidden the caucus from selling a pamphlet called "Stop Expulsions in the NDP" — which told the story of the recent expulsion of socialists

(See page 3)

WORKERS Vanguard

Published monthly by The Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

The policy of *The Workers Vanguard* is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of *The Workers Vanguard*.
Set by Union Labor.

Subscription \$1.00 (12 issues)

Authorized as second class mail by the Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash.

NDP Socialist Caucus

(continued from page 1)

from the Ontario NDP. Caucus chairman John Steele immediately appealed this decision to convention officials who met after considerable publicity on the matter, and reversed their decision.

In a statement to the convention President Eamon Park noted that "the caucus was made up of party members who had a right to propagate their views." T. C. Douglas, who in the 1965 convention referred to the caucus as a "bunch of screwballs", was quoted in the press as saying, "the members of the caucus have a right to organize and spread their views as long as they do not divide the party."

It was obvious to any observer that the main thrust of opposition to the party's hardening reformism came from the Socialist Caucus which attempted to present the class struggle and socialist view on the anti-labor drive, the Middle East crisis, and moved out to call on the party to take the lead in the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The caucus also reported to the delegates on the recent Ontario expulsions and explained how they were symptomatic of the drive by the leadership to substitute an electoral machine for a grass roots social movement.

Although the caucus in presenting the socialist alternative influenced few votes, its spokesmen were listened to and appeared to tap an uneasiness and concern on the issues of Vietnam and internal democracy. Caucus literature sold well. A cau-

cus social attracted over 150 delegates and friends, and the convention expenses, which included a headquarters in a nearby hotel, were met through donations.

The tolerant and even positive attitude of the delegates contrasted to the hostile atmosphere at the 1965 convention. The implicit legitimization of the caucus that came with the reversal of the literature ban, represented a step forward for the socialist forces in the NDP and made continuation of the expulsion drive against socialists that much more difficult. The total effect of the caucus participation was to make the delegates more aware of the socialist alternative as expressed through the caucus. From the point of view of caucus supporters, these gains, represented building blocks for the future when questioning party members and trade union militants will be forced to look to socialism as the alternative to the present reformist program.

STOP EXPULSIONS IN THE NDP

a pamphlet designed to create awareness in the NDP of the necessity to defend internal party democracy and the rights of the membership.

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE EXPELLED

25 cents a copy

Mrs. J. Birrell, 9 Sylvan Ave.,
Toronto 4, Ontario

advertisement



NEW SOCIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT BORN

By Gary Porter

A bold new youth group swung onto the Canadian horizon following a recent Toronto conference. Young militants from Nova Scotia to Vancouver, over 120 in all, worked over a three day period, from July 8-10, to hammer out the basis for the new Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS).

Called by the magazine *Young Socialist Forum* and the Quebec-based Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the conference opened by electing Hugo Blanco its honorary chairman amid the thunderous applause of the youthful delegates. Blanco, a student of agronomy in Peru, lived and worked amid the grinding op-

pression suffered by the peasants of his homeland. He organized them into great unions and led them in the struggle for a better way of life. Now he languishes in prison for his heroic deeds.

Even the most cursory glance revealed that gathered in the conference were many of the leading figures on the youth Left in Canada. The participants included activists from the anti-war movement and from student struggles. As well, there were young trade union militants and many from the New Democratic Youth—including most of those expelled from the NDP in March of this year. The conference was packed with young people prepared to take up the struggles faced

by youth in Canadian society.

Discussion around the aims and objectives of the new movement was animated and dynamic. The conference rejected the present capitalist society, as many of the young generation right across the country are doing. This was no group of apologists or timid servants of our present society. If capitalism had nothing more to offer youth than the cynicism, futility, hopelessness and exploitation which it now dishes out, then it must go! The sooner, the better!

What alternative did the delegates offer? The conference was unanimous, the road ahead for Canadian youth, as for all humanity, is the road of socialism.

Brenda Zannis, a delegate from Montreal, described it this way: "Oppressed and exploited peoples all over the world are raising the banners of struggle. It is youthful forces in these societies who are spearheading the struggle, and the slogan inscribed on their banner is SOCIALISM! That is the great thrust of all the world's peoples today and that is the goal of the YS/LJS."

After firmly establishing the socialist aims of the new organization the delegates moved onto questions of an immediate character. The main task of the YS/LJS, the conference concluded, is to carry the socialist idea to their generation. Within that

(See page 4)

YOUTH MOVEMENT

(continued from page 1)

framework there is much to be done, and the delegates were eager to work out the priorities of the new movement and get on with the job.

The delegates expressed shock and indignation at the savage and brutal horror of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. But, like young militants around the world, the Young Socialists were profoundly heartened by the heroic resistance of the brave and courageous people of Vietnam. The conference easily came to agreement on the need to participate in the building of a mass protest movement to end the Vietnam war.

Confident of the tremendous role which young people and students have to play in the struggle for socialism, the delegates voted overwhelmingly to support other sections of the mass movement in Canada in their struggles for progress and a better life. Particularly important in this respect, as the conference saw it, are the mass organizations of the working class in Canada, the trade unions, and of course the NDP.

One of the big problems facing the delegates was the need for a plan of action which takes into account all the various regional situations in a country as vast and as varied as Canada. Amendments put forward by delegates from Edmonton and Vancouver made important additions to the main political resolution before the conference. After a full and enthusiastic discussion both the amendment and the

political resolution passed unanimously, and the delegates expressed confidence that the new movement is now well armed for its tasks right across the country.

The conference did not take up the whole three days however. On Saturday night the carpet was rolled back for a party, it became clear to this reporter, soon after the party began, that the members of the new YS/LJS are as active and enthusiastic in fun as they are in their politics.

On Monday afternoon the conference elected an executive council composed of tested and experienced young activists from all over the country. Gary Porter, a 22 year old history major from Ottawa's Carleton University was elected executive secretary of the movement. The conference closed as all the delegates rose to sing "The Internationale".

But the conference is only the beginning. Wherever young people in Canada come together, that's where the Young Socialists will be. Look for them in the movement against the Vietnam War, in the struggles of students for democracy in the schools, at their regular forums in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver! Read their magazine *Young Socialist Forum*! Come to their parties for the liveliest time anywhere, or study socialism with them! The Young Socialists have important things to say and do, and soon many thousands of young Canadians will be marching under their new proud banner.



HARRY KOPYTO speaking from the rostrum at the founding convention of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

C O P Y

July 22, 1967

Comrades:

I see the Brock document on Quebec has arrived in quantity for the membership and is marked at 45¢ (forty-five cents) each. Considering that the paper used is obtained at 50¢ a thousand sheets this seems a pretty steep mark-up to me - even if I agreed that League documents should only be acquired by purchase.

However I do not agree with this principle. I feel it conveys an entirely wrong idea of the function of internal documents. These surely should be issued as part of one's membership rights and received and read as part of one's membership obligation - not on the basis of whether one is prepared to purchase. Injecting the commercial aspect - particularly such an obvious money making one as 45¢ for this document - in my opinion breaks down the correct relationship.

I am not opposed to a nominal sum if there is actual need to defray the costs of production but I firmly feel these documents should be received as a matter of membership right. Of course I am not opposed to a charge for material ordered from a fraternal organization. Nor am I particularly impressed by the method other organizations use to distribute their material.- I speak about how I think it should be done in the LSA and I hope you comrades will be persuaded to another course by my arguments.

comradely yours,

Lloyd.

C O P Y

August 8, 1967.

Dear Comrade Lloyd,

The Political Committee is not at all persuaded that the present method of circulating internal bulletins, that of charging a nominal sum for them, amounts in any way whatsoever to anything like "injecting the commercial aspect" that you consider tends to break down "the correct relationship" in our movement.

We question the validity of characterizing this as "money making" in the derogatory sense - in the sense that the materially and historically bankrupt feudal nobility used to characterize the activities of the rising industrial bourgeoisie -- even in the case of the 45 cents charged for the Brock document. Its direct material costs were around ten cents a copy, not counting mailing, stapling, assuming every single copy paid for and none stocked and ignoring the cost of maintaining equipment and so forth.

The correct relationship in our movement in such a matter would seem to us to be one that assured that the documents are available to everyone. If the case could be made that the cost is such that some or even one comrade would be blocked from participating in the democratic process by inability to purchase a copy it might be necessary to reconsider. However we doubt that this is so.

For that matter, what is wrong with a little "money making" if it should turn out that we were actually doing so -- when the money is going to the movement -- the instrument that is essential for the realization of all our aspirations -- when it is strengthening the operational capacities of the center and our entire operations? It has taken some years and a great deal of effort for our movement to overcome a certain cavalier, dilletantist, in reality a petty-bourgeois attitude to money. This is demonstrated not so much by our own comrades' financial commitment to the movement as it is by their attitude towards pressing others to contribute. The Vancouver banquets, where we charge much more than operational costs and from ourselves and our closest contacts have become a great source of satisfaction for us all.-We rejoice that relatively painlessly we have increased the fighting capacity of the movement by accumulating more of the universal equivalent -- more of the tools essential to overcome the power of the capitalist class.

Fraternally,

Kent,

for the Political Committee.

Steel - Mine Mill Feud Terminating

By Peter Henderson

The referendum vote of the 13,000 members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on merger with the United Steelworkers (CLC-CIO) went three to one in favor of merger. Thus ended the 20 years of strife between the two unions that commenced when Mine Mill was expelled from the CIO and CLC during the McCarthyite hysteria and its jurisdiction cynically turned over to Steel.

Years of raids and counter-raids followed, with an attendant decline in real wages and working conditions. The defeat of the 1958 strike provided an impetus to the key INCO workers in Sudbury to finally switch to Steel. The U.S. merger of Mine Mill and Steel, which still found the Canadian Mine Mill leadership talking opposition, finally settled the matter, and the Murphy leadership went over.

The only holdout is Local 598 at Falconbridge. 598's President R. W. McArthur was the only Falconbridge delegate at the June 23 Mine Mill convention to support the merger resolution. This resolution endorsed the executive board's action and prepared the referendum vote which was to be binding on all.

The vote in 598 went 661 for, and 1,187 against. At the Falcon-

bridge mine itself, where only 68% of those eligible cast their ballot, it went 635 for and 973 against. How the 757 abstainers would now vote, in light of the overall results, will not be known, if 598's present leadership continue as they have — for they have not demonstrated much concern about the democratic process up till now.

The executive board had earlier taken a whole series of moves against merger. They carried McArthur's suspension off at the July 5 meeting, then forced the resignation of the members of the trial committee on the basis of their "obvious bias." They have also set up the Nickel Belt Labor Club to hold the assets of the local which are valued at about 2½ million dollars.

Of course, Local 598's executive board are not without ARGUMENTS to justify their type of opposition to the merger. All they have to do is pull out some of the old arguments that Murphy and others used against Steel before. They range from cries against subversion in an international union, in a Yankee union, to the more sophisticated appeal that 598 should go it alone for possibly a year until

(See page 2)

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 12 (132) Mid-August, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Why Que Hailed DeGaulle's Visit

By Jean Laplante

"Here, this evening, and all along the route, I found myself in an atmosphere like that of the Liberation . . . Long live free Quebec!" These phrases from the Montreal speech of President DeGaulle, touched off the biggest controversy in French Canada since the conscription crisis of the second world war, and exposed and mocked the lavishly engineered celebrations of the Canadian centennial year.

Considerable ink has been spent in debating the maneuverings of DeGaulle, Pearson and other bourgeois politicians in Quebec. The violations of protocol, if such, the hypocrisy of the bonapartist DeGaulle, known for his colonialist and anti-working class deeds, the implications of the affair in the context of DeGaulle's "decolonizing" and anti-American and anti-British policies — all have been given the full going over. But it was precisely the reactions of the people of Quebec, and not of the backroom politicians, that gave 'l'affaire DeGaulle' its real significance and provoked Ottawa's stern response.

French Canadians gave DeGaulle an enormous welcome. Thousands thronged the route from Quebec to Montreal. In Montreal itself, 500,000 lined the streets — 15,000 at City Hall alone. These outpourings contrasted sharply with the small, crowds which greeted the Queen in 1964 in Quebec City, and bypassed any attendance that could have been expected simply from a well-organized governmental publicity campaign, or from the separatist minority.

No doubt the welcome was heightened by the not-too-private squabbles between Quebec and Ottawa over the planned visit, and the general awareness of Ottawa's apprehension. But the response also flowed from an identification by French Canadians not with DeGaulle the militarist or DeGaulle the strike-breaker, but with the rep-

resentative of France, the crucible on a world scale of the French tongue and culture.

The warm welcome and the subsequent widespread discussions around Ottawa's ousting of DeGaulle, have reconfirmed the fact that French Canada sees itself as a people, separate and distinct from English Canada. It also illustrated that French Canada is in Canada, not as some sociological abstraction, but in the very brutal status of an oppressed nation. The day to day realities of Quebec life — lower wages, longer hours, more layoffs, and the inability to advance even meagrely in the French language — these facts accounted for the response to the general.

The reactions of Ottawa and of the English Canadian press, caught up in their own chauvinistic propaganda around the centennial celebrations, and furious that the affair should show the rift in the Con-

(See page 2)

DeGaulle's visit Reveals Quebec Nationalism



Ghetto Revolts — The Forerunner to A 2nd Vietnam ?

By John Wilson

Detroit was the place where it wasn't supposed to happen. But it did, and it was bigger than anywhere else. Way bigger.

Hubert Humphrey, LBJ's White House errand boy, was right for once when he told Detroit's Mayor Cavanaugh: "If it can happen in your town, it can happen anywhere. With all the programs you had going and with all the understanding between your Negro leaders and your whites. It can happen anywhere."

As Derrick Morrison, a black American socialist stated in his eyewitness report in the August 7 issue of the *Militant*:

"... Detroit, the 'Model City,' the city where the blacks were supposed to have it so good, the city where so much progress was made in the last 25 years in police-community relations, finally saw, in the words of one of the Brothers, 'red flames in the east and black smoke in the west.'"

"... The Detroit uprising began around 4:30 Sunday morning. This was after the cops had raided a speakeasy on 12th St. near Clairmont and brutally beat up one of the men there. This was the spark. . . The ingredients were the inhuman treatment suffered by the blacks at the hands of police, the wholesale looting of black pocket-books by the devil-like white merchants, and the general concentration-camp conditions that exist in most ghettos across the country."

"They" called it a "riot." "They" meaning the white, big business politicians, the press, TV commentators, etc., just as they called the explosions in Harlem, Watts and Newark. Along with out-and-out racists, they spewed forth with righteous indignation about "lawlessness," "criminal elements" and "outside agitators." But calling it that isn't going to change the fact that it was a massive rebellion against the appalling conditions under which black people in the United States are forced to live, discriminated against in jobs, housing and education, first to be drafted for the imperialist war on Vietnam, and constantly harassed and brutalized by the racist white cops.

Nor is it going to change the fact that superexploited black people refuse to be bought off with the picaresque "concessions" that have been thrown to them like crumbs off a table.

No, the Detroit events did not constitute, as they have been pictured in the Canadian big business press, a "riot." A far more accurate description of what took place can be found in the same issue of the *Militant* quoted previously. In it, another Detroit socialist, Evelyn Sell has this, in part, to say:

"There is one feature of the uprising that is unique . . . All eye-

(See page 3)



Fishermen jailed, B.C. Labor Crisis

by

Vancouver Correspondent

The four-month-long Prince Rupert-based strike of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union has been smashed.

Not for many years has a union been hit so hard. The B.C. Fishing Vessel Owners Association; the provincial Socred government; the RCMP, press, radio, T.V., church; even the mayor of Prince Rupert; all ganged up to not only rebait and defeat the hard-pressed fishermen but to put the very existence of the union itself in jeopardy.

Union President H. Steve Stavens, Secretary Homer Stevens, and Business Agent Jack Nichol were dragged into the courts on a "contempt" charge — found guilty — and each sentenced to one year in prison. The union was fined \$25,000 on the same charge and further legal action has been initiated which could cost it tens of thousands of dollars.

In handing down the sentences Justice T. A. Dohm arrogantly served notice on the entire labor movement that if unions continued to violate injunctions then even more severe sentences will be forthcoming.

The legal entanglement in which the fishermen found themselves shows that the anti-union drive in B.C. has reached a new and extremely critical stage.

Should the Fishermen's leadership break their own strike? Should they make scabs out of their own members? This was the question when the Vessel Owners Association obtained an ex-parte injunction against the UFAWU. The injunction ordered the union to send a telegram to the Prince Rupert shoreworkers demanding that they unload "hot" fish. The union leadership did not com-

ply, but instead called membership meetings where it was decided by an overwhelming majority to ignore the injunction.

The strike arose out of the refusal of the Vessel Owners to pay compensation in times of accident or death, on the grounds that fishermen are not workers but small businessmen. It soon became one of the bitterest in B.C. history with the Fishermen paying painfully for their isolation from the rest of organized labor. The UFAWU was expelled from the CLC at the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt on the grounds that it is communist-led.

The role of the CLC-affiliated Deep Sea Fishermen's Union has been scandalous to say the least. Instead of going to the aid of the striking trawlermen, the DSFU cut the ground from under them. According to the UFAWU's paper *The Fisherman*, 65 known members of the DSFU, including its president and vice-president, added their names to the ex-parte injunction! Negotiations between the two unions to come to some agreement on jurisdiction came to naught, despite the UFAWU's willingness to make concessions.

The severity of the jail sentences, together with the gigantic fines, is causing repercussions throughout the entire BC labor movement. Even that ossified and conservative body, the BC Federation of Labor, was stirred to do something. It initiated a petition calling upon the union-baiting BC government to play the game and stop using injunctions.

Unable to stomach such futile gestures, other trade unionists have moved out and organized the Fishermen's Defense Committee. It is composed of 17 local unions. So far it has limited its activity to collecting funds.

(See page 4)

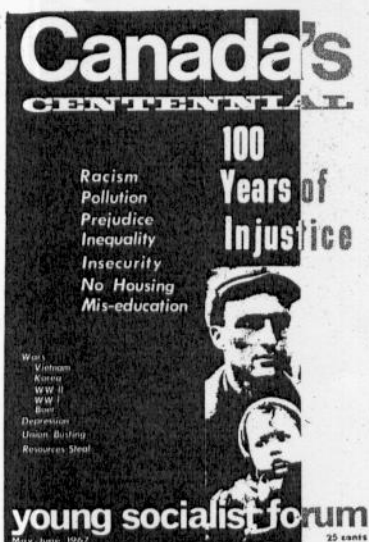
YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM
Centennial Issue, 25 cents a copy,
from YSF House, 32 Cecil Street,
Toronto 2B — subscription — 75
cents for six issues.

The current issue of *Young Socialist Forum*, a special Centennial edition, provides an excellent antidote for several illnesses from which many Canadians now suffer. Feeling bloated, full of excess-acidity due to the rich, fullsome flights and raptures of the politicians over our 100th birthday? Read the May-June *Young Socialist Forum*! Its honesty about the real history of Canada should bring you fast relief. Also, for those of us who are feeling drowsy and sullen as a result of having to memorize those dull, dull school texts on Canadian history? Here is a view of Canada that is both lively and meaningful.

Attractively laid out, and containing pictures and cartoons that are very much to the point, *Young Socialist Forum* attacks the phoney picture we are usually given of Canada, and presents alternatives.

What actually happened at confederation 100 years ago! The cake at Canada's first birthday went to the happy railroad profiteers, not to the Canadian people, who were given no say in the matter and who lost vast amounts of land and money through the corrupt deal we are now to celebrate.

What about the men who built the railways, the men who really opened the West, who went down into the mines? The history of the struggles of labor in Canada, both against the land and against the boss, are clearly told. We are intro-



duced to the great rebels, Riel, Papineau, MacKenzie, as well as the class they fought for.

But has democracy won yet in Canada? *Young Socialist Forum* concludes its Centennial issue by pointing out the gross injustices that are still inherent in Canadian society, as in all capitalist societies. But it also talks about the future.

In the last article, Ross Dowson, editor of the *Workers Vanguard* talks about the socialist future for Canada, where true democracy, a real and fair cutting of the cake, will exist. Scientific socialists, as he says, are not dreamers or visionaries. However, the day will come when we will not have to expose phoney sentiments about Canada, but really have something to cheer about.

by Ruth Blake

Contact us

to know what socialists are
doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
11129-89th Ave.,

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

LSA/LSO Plenum Meet Discusses NDP, Quebec

The plenary sessions of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière central committee, which was elected at last summer's convention, were held in Toronto over July 6, 7, 8 and 11. The attendance was excellent with only one Quebec and two BC members unable to attend. The July 8 session on Quebec was enlarged by the presence of leading cadre from the LSO.

Most of the delegates came fresh from participating in the July 1 anti-Vietnam war demonstration in Montreal, the NDP convention that closed in Toronto only a day before, and/or, the founding of the new youth organization, Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, in Toronto over July 8-10. All three highly significant events, in which the developing LSA/LSO forces played an important role, were the subject of intense discussions, if not in the formal sessions of the plenum then in the various fraction meetings held between sessions.

A report on the building of the movement against the war in Vietnam, the first item following the adoption of the agenda, showed the high priority that this problem has for the LSA/LSO. The document that came out of the report, and the extended discussion, stressed as the LSA/LSO's objective "to build the broadest and most powerful mobilization against the war". This can best be assured by maintaining the movement's present non-exclusionist and single issue character. After noting the limited headway already made into the ranks of the NDP and the trade unions it stressed this as the chief challenge before the movement.

The discussion on the New Democratic Party revolved around a document presented by the PC on the continued evolution of the party into an electoral apparatus under control of the brass in which socialist views are being less and less tolerated, and the problems this represents to militants and socialists in the period of relative class stability that prevails. It was agreed on the necessity for the LSA/LSO to stress their independent activities so that forces vital to the next upturn are not lost. A second document dealt with the work to win the NDP to a socialist policy.

The continuing discussions on Quebec around three documents that had been presented to last summer's convention and not voted on, moved forward with this plenum.

An eleven point thesis on Quebec was presented to the plenum. After a serious discussion, its general line was adopted. The document characterizes the French-Canadian nation as "an oppressed nation, subordinated politically to the federal regime, and economically to English-Canadian and American capitalist interests". The document distinguishes between "national consciousness" and "nationalism", between nationalism as a "tendency" and nationalism as a "movement". "All French-Canadians whatever their social class position," it says, "have to some degree a common conscious self-identification as French-Canadians or Quebecois, . . . but national consciousness does not develop inevitably into a positive program of nationalism, still less into separatism".

Separatism has so far been limited in its support to the petty-bourgeoisie, with little support from either the working class or the big bourgeoisie. The "Quiet Revolution" is more than anything else "the growing labor consciousness and militancy that has swept broad layers of the industrial proletariat, reaching even into 'white collar' ranks of the labor force".

The document states that the LSA/LSO defends the right of self determination, including separation, but points out that as socialists "we are not ourselves nationalists, still less separatists".

In explanation of LSA/LSO relations it says "Because the political struggle in both French and English-Canada remains oriented in the first place against a united Canadian capitalist class, and its central government in Ottawa, the LSA/LSO are united within a single organizational structure".

The adopted theses and a further contribution to the discussion entitled *Quebec and the National Question* are to be circulated throughout the LSA/LSO.

Another important subject of discussion was the press — both the *Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvrière*. Preparatory actions were taken towards publication of the *Vanguard* as a twice monthly by October.

Subscribe Now

WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland, Toronto 5

September 12, 1967

Dear Pat;

I understand that you and Peter have been tossing back and forth in your mind the idea of leaving Montreal for new challenges and opportunities.

When you come to make a decision I want you to be sure to consider Hamilton ---the purpose of this short note. As you know this area has a top priority for the movement. Not only because it is a key industrial city which our movement cannot afford to continue to ignore if we are serious about the struggle in this country but because it is so close to Toronto and any comrades colonized there could obtain a great deal of help from the Toronto branch.

No doubt you noticed the item in the Vanguard of two issues ago about the draftsmen's protest against strikbreaking moves by the UE of Westinghouse. This incident involves John Steele's father who was in charge of the draftsmen's local. He has since been put on trial and expelled from the CP. We do not know what repercussions this is having in the CP there which still functions ~~maximum~~ in the TU arena. On Labor Day four of the comrades went into Hamilton and they sold more to the parade there than we did here although Toronto's was at least 6 times larger.

We have been searching our ranks for proper persons to colonize there. In my opinion it has to be a couple of comrades--preferably man and wife--comrades who will settle in for a period. We have been discouraging the odd comrade who sees the challenge and wants to go in because it is not a matter of picking up something already there and consolidating. It is a matter of setting up shop on a serious basis. Usually these comrades have been young also.

We have been talking this over here and have agreed to Fred C seeking a transfer within the railway to the Hamilton yards. He thinks that it will not be long before a job appears on the board for bid--and he is willing to go. This is very good as Fred has developed considerably over the past year--particularly since the strike of the RR workers in which he played a very fine role. As you know Fred is fully prepared to do the more or less prosaic work necessary to get things underway. But we are searching for a couple. John and Sheila would be ideal but it so happens we just are not in a position to let them go as anxious as they are to do so. ---particularly John in light of the key role he plays on the labor council.

You and Peter are perfect it seems to me--so when you come to think more concretely in terms of leaving for new fields would you give Hamilton a really Serious consideration.

I won't describe the scenic beauties of the Hamilton marsh, the gardens, ~~the~~ etc--you know them well..... just the politics of it--which are really vital.

comradely

Ross

DOWSON BY-ELECTION

CAMPAIGN NEWS

September 30, 1967

The campaign to elect Ross Dowson in Colchester-Hants has not yet moved into high gear, but already Mr. Dowson's challenge to the new Tory leader Robert Stanfield has aroused widespread interest.

On September 13, Mr. Dowson was interviewed live for seven minutes prime viewing time over the CBC-TV's popular Toronto program, TBA.

On September 22, Larry Zolf interviewed him for some 45 minutes for CBC-TV's national network program, Public Eye. Portions of this interview will be presented over a Public Eye program sometime during the campaign.

On September 27th, Mr. Dowson addressed the first public meeting of the year of the Waterloo Lutheran University New Democratic Party club. His subject upon request was, "Why I'm Challenging Stanfield." Among the 60 interested, highly enthusiastic students who attended, were several young members of the campus Progressive Conservative club -- complete with poster-pictures of Mr. Stanfield. The meeting, which with questions and discussion, extended over 2½ hours, was only brought to a close by the necessity of the club to hold its first business meeting. During the business period, the young Progressives engaged Dowson in a lively exchange of ideas, which was taped for broadcast by local radio station CHYM. All the local news media, including the daily newspapers, were present.

The cross-country press has given considerable prominence to the news of Mr. Dowson's nomination as a result of the NDP's default in failing to field a candidate to oppose Mr. Stanfield. Supporters of the campaign have mailed us clippings from such diverse centers as Vancouver, Edmonton, and Montreal. The Toronto press has interviewed Ross Dowson on several occasions. The Hamilton Spectator of the Southam press even went so far as to congratulate Dowson in an editorial for foiling the Ottawa politicians' scheme to ease Stanfield into the House of Commons by acclamation.

A number of contacts among progressives and radical-minded youth in the Halifax area have been made already.

The League for Socialist Action, which is sponsoring Ross Dowson's campaign, has named John Riddell, former national secretary of the Young Socialists, as campaign manager. The campaign will be centering in the Truro and Colchester-Hants area of Nova Scotia well before nomination day, October 23rd.

A big send-off campaign rally is scheduled for Mr. Dowson in Toronto on October 13th. Prominent activists in the NDP and the movement against the Vietnam war are being invited to attend to express their solidarity with the aims of the Dowson campaign.

Toronto, September 18 — The Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action announced today that it has chosen Ross Dowson as labor's standard-bearer in the expected by-election in the Nova Scotia riding of Colchester-Hants. The by-election will be called to give newly-elected Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield an opportunity for election to the House of Commons.

Mr. Dowson, who is Executive Secretary of the ISA and its Quebec co-thinker, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, had declared earlier that the ISA/ISO would contest the by-election if the New Democratic Party failed to field a candidate. The Nova Scotia leader of the NDP announced Friday that it intended to follow federal leader T.C. Douglas' urgings to abstain from a contest with Mr. Stanfield.

Mr. Dowson forced an election in the Ontario constituency of Hastings-Frontenac in 1957, when he ran against External Affairs Minister Sydney Smith, thereby foiling the plans of Opposition leader Louis St-Laurent and CCF leader M.J. Coldwell to ease Dr. Smith into the House of Commons without electoral opposition.

In a statement today, Mr. Dowson pointed out that the NDP's failure to run against Stanfield is doing the old line parties a favor they have never paid the NDP or its predecessor, the CCF. "When Tommy Douglas ran in Regina, the Liberals put up a sleeper, while the Tories ran a strong candidate and defeated him. In his subsequent attempt in Burnaby-Coquitlam, the Liberals entered their top 'brain-truster', Tom Kent, in an effort to keep Mr. Douglas out of the House."

Referring to widespread dissension among NDP supporters concerning Mr. Douglas' promise to "do everything possible to see that the NDP doesn't oppose Stanfield," Mr. Dowson emphasized that the NDP's refusal to run is all the more inexcusable in view of the election campaigns presently underway in three provinces.

"In Ontario and Saskatchewan, the party has a good chance of taking power. In New Brunswick, the party leadership has already reversed its earlier decision to abstain."

Asked if he thought he could win, Mr. Dowson commented: "No one thought the late Joe Noseworthy would win when he ran against the newly-appointed Tory leader Arthur Meighen in 1942. But he did. Meighen was forced to retire from public life, and the CCF thereby marked one of its first important victories in the Eastern urban areas which today constitute a base for the NDP."

Mr. Dowson said he will campaign "essentially on the NDP program, so that NDP supporters in Colchester-Hants will not be deprived of an opportunity to express their views." But he hopes to win support from all those who oppose the Tory party, "including Liberals who are disgusted with Pearson's deal to aid Stanfield's election."

1 Cumberland St
Toronto 5, Ont.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"It would be a disservice to the party he leads and a crime against the electorate of a Nova Scotia riding, should NDP leader T.C. Douglas submit to Liberal-Tory pressure that the newly-elected Progressive Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield be unopposed," said Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action.

"The NDP must confront the Tory leader in any future by-election designed to get him into the Commons and Mr. Douglas ill-advises the NDP leadership when he says that he will 'do everything possible to see that we don't oppose him.'"

Mr. Dowson said that he understands why Prime Minister Pearson assured Mr. Stanfield an acclamation. "The Tories provide the Liberals with an easy foil and thus help assure that one or the other party of the big business interests remains in office."

"But the New Democratic Party, seeking power to legislate in the interests of the working people has the responsibility of showing the grave issues that confront the Canadian people. It must not get caught up in the parliamentary game, but must counterpose itself to the Liberals and Tories at every opportunity."

"Mr. Douglas attempts to justify his statements by saying that Mr. Stanfield should be given an opportunity to indicate by vote where he stands on various issues and what his alternative policies are. But Mr. Stanfield has been 20 years in public life, and 11 years a premier -- the Tory premier of the province of Nova Scotia. His positions are clear -- from support of Canada's participation in the NATO-NORAD military alliances, to endorsement of the United States' murderous war in Vietnam and Canada's continued complicity in it, to down-the-line defence of free enterprise profiteering and the use of injunctions against organized labor."

"Should Mr. Douglas' fatuous proposition be endorsed by the federal leadership of the NDP, it is the responsibility of the Nova Scotia NDP leadership or an affiliated union to frustrate such designs by presenting a candidate."

Mr. Dowson forced an election in Hastings-Frontenac in 1957. By so doing, he frustrated a similar arrangement by M.J. Coldwell and Louis St-Laurent that was designed to let the late Sydney Smith step into the Commons as Diefenbaker's Minister of External Affairs.

-- for further information:

Ross Dowson,
Executive Secretary,
League for Socialist Action

September 11, 1967

Tel 922-6665

SOCIALIST CAUCUS URGES NDP CANDIDATE AGAINST STANFIELD

The Socialist Caucus of the New Democratic Party in a statement issued to the press today urged the federal executive of the NDP to repudiate any commitments that may have been made in the name of the party not to field a candidate in the coming by-election in Colchester-Hants.

The federal office should see to it that an effective candidate is presented to the 60,000 people in that community as an alternative to the newly selected progressive conservative leader Robert Stanfield and that sufficient resources be allocated to win that seat for the NDP.

The Socialist Caucus first appeared as a force in the NDP at the 1965 federal convention and has won the support of a considerable number of active NDPers across the country. It recently played an important role in the protest movement against the expulsions of several leading Young New Democrats from the Ontario section, a protest which won the support of NDP members of parliament Bert Hertridge and Colin Cameron. It publishes a bulletin under the editorship of John Steele (St. Georges) with correspondents in all the major centers.

The caucus recalls that an effective CCF campaign behind the late Joseph Noseworthy in York South succeeded in defeating the then newly elected Tory leader Arthur Meighen. That was the first breakthrough of the NDP's precursor into the Ontario area and resulted in a quick win of that seat provincially as well. These victories played a big role in paving the way that is now open for the victory for a labor government in the coming Ontario provincial elections.

At the same time the caucus statement noted that neither the Liberals nor the Tories, whenever the NDP sought to put a leader in the house, showed such a cavalier attitude as is now being suggested that the NDP show with respect to Mr. Stanfield. On the contrary both parties of the big business interests combined in an attempt to defeat Mr. Douglas when NDP MP Regier stepped down in Burnaby-Coquitlam--the Liberals running their chief braintruster Tom Kent.

The eyes of the entire country will be on the Colchester-Hants by-election. It can provide the NDP with an opportunity to clearly expound its positions on Vietnam, NATO-NORAD, the housing scandal, and extend its influence from coast to coast. At the very least it will result in building an effective base under the party in the Maritimes area which remain strongholds for the Liberals and the Tories.

Failure to run will be widely misinterpreted and will do damage to the party.

Sept. 14, 1967

The Socialist Caucus,
Box 872, Station F,
Toronto.
contact:
John Steele, tel. 924-4565

Good for DOWSON (IN COLCHESTER-HANTS)

**Says
the leading
Hamilton
daily**

The Spectator

ESTABLISHED 1846

Published at 115 King Street East, Hamilton, Ont., by Southam Press
Limited, proprietor and publisher.

Thursday September 21 1967



No Free Rides

FAIR PLAY and good fellowship in national politics are welcome, if infrequent, virtues but inter-party amity may be carried too far in the November 6 by-election designed to propel new Conservative leader Robert Stanfield into the Commons.

At the outset, both the Liberals and NDP piously said they would not contest the seat. If no one else did, then Mr. Stanfield would be an MP two weeks earlier, having been elected by acclamation on nomination day. But the apple cart has been upset by a Toronto Trotskyite who says he is going to run just to keep things honest.

Good for him. We wish Mr. Stanfield every success but there is no reason why he should have a free ride into Parliament. It would be a negation of our system of elections. Liberal-NDP bonhomie is predicated more on the certain knowledge that their candidates would be soundly trounced than any genuine desire to help.

Trotskyites notwithstanding, Mr. Stanfield should be challenged firmly by representatives of both the other major parties. Even if his electors are pre-conditioned in his favor the new leader should still be forced to go through the motions of an election, fight his opponents with vigor, and justify his political existence.

Anything else would be to sell short the electoral process.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO

,the people of CAPE BRETON
of Colchester-Hants
of all Canada,

ABOUT THE 'ATOM BOMB' CLOSURES THAT DOSCO HAS DROPPED ?

(while the Liberal, Progressive Conservative federal and provincial leaderships were sweet-talking last night in Sydney, Federal Minister of Rural Development Maurice Sauve said in Banff that STEEL IS GOING TO BE PHASED OUT HERE, along with coal.)

hear

ROSS DOWSON

the labor alternative to PC leader Robert Stanfield
in the November 6 by-election in Colchester-Hants

TONIGHT Oct 18 8 PM

at the

Royal Canadian Legion

HALL

Branch 12

101 Dorchester

Labor Must Enter Que. Politics-LSO

MONTREAL—"The socialist movements must prepare themselves now, lest they once again face only boss tickets at the polls," states the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in a declaration commenting on press speculation of a fall election in Québec.

"With a strong majority", continues the statement, "the Johnson government could more effectively come to grips with its two main tasks; first, to wrench more concessions from Ottawa, and second, to repress the militant working class of Québec, particularly the sector in the public employ."

After summarizing the anti-labor measures of the Union Nationale régime, and its failure to legislate even minimal improvements in social welfare, the statement goes on to demonstrate that the Liberals pose no alternative. Nor can the working class support the separatist parties. The most important of these,

the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, states the LSO, "has a purely nationalist program. It strives for a politically independent Québec, but ignores the central question of the class control of Québec, whether independent or not. In fact, rather than advocating the nationalization of large industrial and financial concerns, and their operation under workers' control, it declares for a policy of encouraging foreign investment in a mixed (i.e., capitalist) economy."

The LSO statement concludes that "there exists at this time no mass party, either socialist in program or working class in composition, to challenge the rule of the *trustards*. The foremost responsibility for this crisis lies with the New Democratic Party, which at its last convention failed to mobilize its forces and those of its allies, the

trade unions."

Commenting on the growing NDP federal vote in Québec, the statement points out that "nevertheless, the NDP and many of its allies in the leadership of the labor movement, ignore the crucial provincial arena, going to the extent of mis-educating militants by suggesting that certain Liberals and Unionistes should be backed, that the NDP and the labor movement are too weak to challenge the old parties, etc."

In contrast to that defeatist perspective, the LSO "calls for a conference with representatives from the political action committees of the FTQ, the CSN, the UCC (the militant Catholic Farmers' Union), the CIC (teachers' union) . . . etc." The declaration adds: "All political organizations and individuals of the left should be free to attend. Invaluable to this conference would

be the participation of the Québec NDP. . . .

"All the machinery of the trade union movement — the press, the supplies, the full-time organizers could be thrown into a province-wide campaign, which could make labor representation at Québec a reality. Not only would such a conference mark a big step forward in the direction of a mass Québec labor party, but it would also forge strong ties between the FTQ and the CSN, impelling them towards unity in struggle against the common enemy — the bosses."

"Failing such a conference," the statement concludes, "it will fall to the Québec left to present the socialist, working class alternative to the boss parties. The LSO would for its part make the main feature of its electoral activity the necessity for a Québec labor party."

VANGUARD

FORUM



ROSS DOWSON, editor of the *Vanguard*, speaking at the regular Friday evening Vanguard Forum in Toronto, about his recent trip to Cuba. (See article last issue.)

In Vancouver, a recent guest speaker at the Vanguard Forum was Tom Parkin, General Organiser and Publicity Director of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union. Parkin, an active unionist for 21 years, 7 of them in the Prince Rupert area as northern representative for the UFAWU, told how the Rupert fishermen were forced to take strike action against the Vessel Owners Association to support some modest demands, but quickly found themselves in a bitter fight for the preservation of their union. He pointed out that the attack against the Fishermen was part of the strategy of the companies and the Socred provincial government to paralyze the union movement.

As a token of solidarity, the collection was turned over to the union. The forum was reported in the next day's *Vancouver Sun*.

In Montreal, the Forum Socialiste recently heard special guest speaker Bruce Robinson, an economist, present an informed and interesting analysis of latest developments in the Soviet economy.

In all three cities, the Forums are held every Friday night, at 8 p.m. The addresses are:

Vancouver — 1208 Granville (at Davie)

Toronto — 1 Cumberland St. (at Yonge)

Montreal — 66 Guibault W. (near Pine and St-Laurent) English and French on alternate weeks.

Hippies' Love Balked As Cops Batter Sit-In

By J. Ruby

TORONTO, Aug. 27 — Smeared across the front page of Monday morning's paper: "One detective... waded into the center of the demonstration, slapped a girl across the face, pulled her by the hair, then turned to her companion and kicked him ten or more times."

The report was not of police brutality in Newark or Detroit, but of the Toronto police force's reaction to a peaceful sit-in demonstration by over 300 young people the previous night. The demonstration, which temporarily blocked traffic on Yorkville Avenue, had been organized by a group of hippies as part of their campaign to close the street to cars.

The hippies' leaders tried to prevent the further development of the protest, by diverting the youth from further militant actions. Their contribution was recognized by no less a figure than Prime Minister Pearson, who described hippie leader David DePoe, a Company of Young Canadian volunteer, as a "moderating influence" in the affair. But they couldn't stop many of the hundreds of young people involved from drawing conclusions from the events. "It's the police that are instigating it! It's the police who are being violent!" exclaimed one astonished

young girl as the cops struck her in the Sunday night sit-in. The hippies, many of whom come from "respectable" middle class families, were finding how difficult it is to "love" the cops.

As Ian Angus, a member of the Toronto Young Socialists, pointed out to the hippies at a Tuesday night rally in City Hall Square, the cops' brutality showed the need for citizens' control of Toronto's police force. In addition to this, the demonstrators should broaden their demands to include popular issues such as rent. "In this city you cannot live in anything but sub-human slums if you want to eat too," said Angus. "And even in the slums the rent is high. We ought to demand City Council institute rent control while we're at it."

At the Young Socialists' Saturday night Forum, speaker Jacquie Henderson told an audience of 60, many of them from Yorkville:

"The police invasion of Yorkville shows that no one, not even the hippies, can 'opt out' of the system. You've got to join in the real struggle, the struggle between the working people on the one hand and a few fat cats on the other. If you really want a world where people can live fully, then you have to join in the struggle for a socialist world."

Basic Reading on

VIETNAM

Immediate Withdrawal vs. Negotiations — C. Jenness15
GI's and the Fight Against War — M. A. Waters25
Free Speech for GI's — Case of Pfc. Petrick15
War and Revolution in Vietnam — Doug Jenness15
On Vietnam and World Revolution — Che Guevara20
Vietnam, the Logic of Withdrawal — Howard Zinn	1.65
War Crimes in Vietnam — Bertrand Russell	1.00
Vietnam, Vietnam — Felix Greene	3.25

obtain through

VANGUARD BOOKS

824 Yonge Street, Toronto
1208 Granville, Vancouver



165 Spadina Ave.,
Room 32
Toronto 2B
October 16, 1967

Dear Friend:

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is happy to announce that, in agreement with the editorial board of GRANMA, Cuba's official news organ, we are launching a large-scale campaign to obtain subscriptions to the English weekly edition of GRANMA in both Canada and the U.S.A. We've already received nearly 100 subscriptions and we expect to obtain several hundred more by the end of the year! The English weekly edition of GRANMA contains all the latest important political news on the world scene, from the O.L.A.S. Conference, to the black rebellions in the U.S. All of the important speeches of Fidel Castro and other government figures are printed in full text. Enclosed is Fidel Castro's significant speech to the closing session of O.L.A.S. (Organization for Latin American Solidarity), the international conference to set up the basis for revolutionary work in Latin America. Stokely Carmichael, black power leader, was a special guest at this Conference.

Of course, GRANMA also contains a large cultural section where articles on art and artists in Cuba and around the world are featured. Cuba, as most of us know, has no "Socialist Realist" concept of art, and recently held an International Writers' and Artists' Conference in Havana during the July 26 celebrations!

GRANMA is an excellent and enlightening source of news and culture for all of us, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee urges you to mail in your subscription now! We will be mailing the GRANMAS regularly from our own central office in Toronto. Price of a sub. is \$5.00 per year—only \$5.00 a year to remain constantly informed of all domestic and world affairs important to the Cuban people—and important to us, as sympathizers of the Cuban Revolution and its heroic accomplishments! Mail your subscription today and stay informed!

Fraternally,
Wylla Dickson
Fair Play for Cuba Committee

KEEP UP WITH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION! MAIL YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TODAY!

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
PROVINCE OR STATE.....

- ☐ Please find enclosed \$5.00 for a one year's subscription to GRANMA.
- ☐ I would like to be kept informed of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's publications and activities.
- ☒ Please find enclosed \$3.00 (Students \$1.50) for my membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Rally & Sendoff

1967

for **ROSS
DOWSON**



Ross Dowson

and youthful supporters, around which an effective
force of Nova Scotians will be welded to present

LABOR'S POSITION AGAINST ROBERT STANFIELD

the newly selected Tory leader running for
Parliament in the by election prepared for him in

COLCHESTER-HANTS, NOVA SCOTIA

Friday

Oct. 13

8 p.m.

at the

**Carpenters Hall
169 Gerrard St. E.**

Auspices of the **League for Socialist Action**

1 Cumberland St.
tel. 922 6665

Dowson Labor Candidate In Stanfield By - Election

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 2 (134) October 2, 1967 Toronto — 10 Cents

Vote Poses the Issue: Labor Against Capital

By Ross Dowson

We will exert all our energies, and we will seek to enlist the support of everyone to make the Colchester-Hants by-election a confrontation between the forces of Canadian labor and Canadian capital. That is the chief significance of the battle which has now been joined between myself and Progressive Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield.

Our intention is to be the voice of all who want Canada to adopt an independent policy, one of opposition to and not apologetics for the aggressive imperialist actions that the power-drunk rulers of the United States are waging against popular freedom movements right across the globe.

We will be spokesmen for the increasing number of Canadians who want to end Ottawa's complicity in the murderous war being waged against the people of Vietnam, the continued escalation of which threatens Canada and all mankind with nuclear destruction.

We intend to project a rounded program for terminating the long and ruthless exploitation of this country's resources and its peoples for the profit of a tiny handful, with its consequent insecurity and vast inequalities for the majority. This program will lead us forward to a society in which production will be planned and for human use, where a genuine democracy will prevail that will permit the full flowering of the initiatives and creativity of all so that Canada will be transformed into a land of peace, freedom and prosperity.

CONFRONTATION

By-elections have traditionally served as an arena for the confrontation of programs and parties. The Liberals have added another two years since the last election to their long years of power in federal government. The Tories, whom the Liberals replaced have now dumped Diefenbaker and are re-gearing their apparatus in the hope that they can once again feast on the privileges of office in Ottawa under the leadership of a man who has been premier of Nova Scotia for 11 years. What do the voters of Colchester-Hants, now given the opportunity to go to the polls, have to say on the Liberal-Tory record? What do they have to say in the face of the new challenges before us? They now have an opportunity not only to protest, but to endorse an alternative course.

The eyes of all Canada should be focused on Nova Scotia. For Colchester-Hants can be the conscience of the entire country.

THE PLOT EXPOSED !



ET TU, ROBERT! Robert Stanfield (right), the new Conservative leader, huddles with Tory national director Dalton Camp while John Diefenbaker accuses Camp of "treachery". Photo was taken at Tory convention last year, when Camp — who subsequently engineered Stanfield's election to the leadership — steamrollered delegates into supporting the party hierarchy's motion to hold this year's leadership convention to dump Dief.

Challenges New Tory Chief As NDP Fails to Nominate

Ross Dowson will challenge the new Progressive Conservative party leader, Robert Stanfield, as labor's standard bearer in the Colchester-Hants by-election on November 6.

The election in the Nova Scotia community around Truro has been called to permit the man who came out on top in the maneuvering at the Tory convention to take a seat in the House of Commons. Dowson's candidature was announced by the League for Socialist Action when it became apparent that the NDP was not going to field a candidate. He is the league's executive secretary.

On September 11 the LSA initiated a campaign to reverse Douglas' policy when it was reported that Prime Minister Pearson had assured the Tories that his party would not field a candidate and that NDP leader Douglas had stated he "would do everything possible to see that we (the NDP) don't oppose him".

Liberal Support

In a statement on that date which was carried in the cross-country press, Dowson said it was not at all unexpected that the Liberals agree to an acclamation for Stanfield. "The Tories," he said,

"provide the Liberals with an easy foil and thus help to assure that one or the other party of the Big Business interests remains in office."

But the NDP, seeking power to legislate in the interest of the working people, "must not get caught up in the parliamentary game" but must field a candidate or gravely compromise itself as a serious alternative to the boss parties. He scored Mr. Douglas' argument that Stanfield should be given an opportunity in the House to indicate where he stands and what his alternative policies are, as completely fatuous in view of the latter's 20 years in public life — eleven of them as Tory premier of Nova Scotia.

Over CBC TV on September 13 Dowson attacked the top level Liberal-Tory deal and Mr. Douglas' assent to it as a denial of the most elementary democratic rights of the people in Colchester-Hants. This deal is a dictatorial imposition of Mr. Stanfield on the people of that riding until such time as there is another federal election. To the ever-increasing rule by cabinet and order-in-council has now been added the closed, private club concept of parliament, he said.

Tory Convention

Progressive Conservatives have had Stanfield imposed upon them by the machinations of a cabal of privy councillors, senators, convention officials, party executives, and controversial ex-officio and at-large voting delegates. A widely published and unchallenged analysis of the voting at the leadership convention shows that Mr. Roblin, and not Mr. Stanfield, had the overwhelming support of constituency association representatives. Liberal supporters who believe that there is some fundamental difference between that party and the Tories are having a Tory imposed upon them — and NDP supporters are being deprived of even an opportunity to

register a protest.

"What does Mr. Douglas hope to gain by this?" Dowson asked. "The good will of the very forces with which the party in three different provinces is right now locked in combat — in Saskatchewan, in Ontario, and in adjoining New Brunswick?"

(See page 3)

LSA CANDIDATE



Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson, now 50 years of age, has since his teens actively participated in the struggles of the Canadian workers for a better society. He is executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialistes Ouvrière, an organization of socialist-minded men and women which supports the New Democratic party seeking to influence it to adopt a militant socialist policy. He is editor of the twice-monthly *Workers Vanguard*.

He joined the unemployed movement in the thirties when coming

(See page 4)

Oct. 21 Protest

Support for the October 21-22 International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war is snowballing around the world.

In the United States, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, organizers of the giant April 15th Mobilization of 500,000 people in New York and San Francisco, has scheduled a massive anti-war "Confrontation" in Washington for October 21st. The Student Mobilization Committee, one of the chief builders of the demonstration, reports a significantly greater response both nationally and internationally to the call for the October 21 action than has been seen in any previous demonstration. Organizations in 45 states are working to build support for the Confrontation.

After initial hesitation in some quarters, Canadian anti-war activists are now forging full-steam ahead on plans for October 21st. Following are summarized area reports from across the country.

TORONTO (by D. Fry) — Thirty-seven anti-war organizations and political groups, in an all-day meeting here September 9, set up an October 21st Mobilization committee with a full-time headquarters. Ken Warren, an editor of the *Canada/Vietnam Newsletter*, has been hired to coordinate activities and man the headquarters, which are located at 20 College St. (Telephone: 929-5563).

The 75 participants in the conference, from Toronto, London, Sarnia, Hamilton, Ottawa and the Niagara Peninsula, decided to hold one central demonstration, in Toronto, as the focus of the weekend activities. After a vigorous debate, it was decided to hold a parade from the Legislature at Queen's Park down Yonge Street to Liberal Party headquarters, to emphasize the Liberal Government's complicity in the war. It is hoped to have floats, mime groups and other spontan-

(See page 4)

New Twice - Monthly Marks Major Advance

By the Editors

Well, here we are. The twice-monthly *Vanguard* is now a reality. As with past issues in recent months, careful readers may note minor stylistic improvements in layout and appearance. In this issue, we have modified our masthead. In the next period, we may change our type style, and make other changes designed to make the paper more easily readable to our growing list of subscribers.

But the big change, which marks a qualitative step forward for the Canadian left, is our new schedule. Last spring, *Vanguard* readers and supporters dug deep into their pockets to oversubscribe our objective of \$8,000 by a further \$2,000. The objective then was a twice-monthly. But we are going that one better. From now on, the *Vanguard* will be publishing every two weeks which means that some months — as is the case this month — three issues will come out!

As we pointed out in the first issue of the monthly *Workers Vanguard*, in December 1955: "The working people need a press of their own. They need a paper that defends their views against the flood of capitalist lies and will serve as an effective instrument in spreading the inspiring message of socialism to the ever-increasing layers of workers who are trying to find their way out of the capitalist jungle."

"The *Workers Vanguard* is dedicated to telling the truth about labor's struggle for socialism. The spreading of illusions and pious platitudes it leaves to others."

The program and policy of the paper remains the same. But, as we pointed out in our appeal for funds last spring, the increased frequency of publication will make it "more than twice as effective as a militant opponent of the war in Vietnam, as a voice for union militants, as a reporter of labor's struggle internationally, and as a spokesman for a socialist Canada."

Moreover, we will bend every effort to give the *Vanguard* a more popular appeal. For example, in addition to our more or less regular

(See page 4)

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 2 (134)

October 2, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Vote Poses the Issue: Labor Against Capital

By Ross Dowson

We will exert all our energies, and we will seek to enlist the support of everyone to make the Colchester-Hants by-election a confrontation between the forces of Canadian labor and Canadian capital. That is the chief significance of the battle which has now been joined between myself and Progressive Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield.

Our intention is to be the voice of all who want Canada to adopt an independent policy, one of opposition to and not apologetics for the aggressive imperialist actions that the power-drunk rulers of the United States are waging against popular freedom movements right across the globe.

We will be spokesmen for the increasing number of Canadians who want to end Ottawa's complicity in the murderous war being waged against the people of Vietnam, the continued escalation of which threatens Canada and all mankind with nuclear destruction.

We intend to project a rounded program for terminating the long and ruthless exploitation of this country's resources and its peoples for the profit of a tiny handful, with its consequent insecurity and vast inequalities for the majority. This program will lead us forward to a society in which production will be planned and for human use, where a genuine democracy will prevail that will permit the full flowering of the initiatives and creativity of all so that Canada will be transformed into a land of peace, freedom and prosperity.

CONFRONTATION

By-elections have traditionally served as an arena for the confrontation of programs and parties. The Liberals have added another two years since the last election to their long years of power in federal government. The Tories, whom the Liberals replaced have now dumped Diefenbaker and are re-gearing their apparatus in the hope that they can once again feast on the privileges of office in Ottawa under the leadership of a man who has been premier of Nova Scotia for 11 years. What do the voters of Colchester-Hants, now given the opportunity to go to the polls, have to say on the Liberal-Tory record? What do they have to say in the face of the new challenges before us? They now have an opportunity not only to protest, but to endorse an alternative course.

The eyes of all Canada should be focused on Nova Scotia. For Colchester-Hants can be the conscience of the entire country.

Regis Debray Indicted; Petition Seeks Release

As we go to press, reports indicate that Régis Debray, the young French intellectual and writer on the Latin American guerrilla struggle, is finally being placed on trial before a military court in Bolivia.

Debray was "captured" and incarcerated by the military régime of General René Barrientos several months ago. He had entered the country as an accredited correspondent of the Mexican magazine *Successos* and his Paris publisher, François Maspéro, in hopes of meeting up with the guerrilla forces and reporting on their activity to the outside world. His arrest, subsequent torture and deprivation of the most elementary civil liberties,

have brought forth protests from eminent people all over the world, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Pope Paul. Many consider his ordeal a test case for reporters in guerrilla zones who, they correctly point out, should enjoy the same status as war correspondents, in this era of national liberation struggles.

Petition

In this country a petition demanding his release has been signed by over 40 prominent public figures, including Prof. C. B. Macpherson, Cedric Belfrage, Prof. Chandler Davis, Milton Acorn, Jim Mayor, Prof. Donald Willmott, and Ross Dowson. Sponsor of the petition is Robert McCarthy of Massey College, Toronto, who has been prominent in the defence of the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader, Hugo Blanco.

Debray's latest work, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, has provoked much interest and critical comment throughout the hemisphere. Purported to be an exposition of the "Cuban line" on armed struggle, the book is also notable for an entirely unjustified and dishonest attack on the Trotskyist movement and its so-called "strategy of armed self-defence."

At a recent Vanguard Forum on Debray's ideas in Toronto, Dick Fidler emphasized how Debray over-simplifies the nature of the tasks facing Latin American revolutionaries in his insistence on the immediate application of guerrilla warfare tactics in almost every country. He passes over or distorts the very valuable experiences of revolutionary movements, including the Trotskyists, in countries like Peru and Bolivia, where the struggles in the peasants' and miners' unions have developed valuable political cadres as well as a rich theoretical and practical understanding of the peculiarities of the situation in each country, thereby facilitating the armed struggle. It would be a serious mistake, Fidler pointed out, to dissipate already-existing cadres in guerrilla adventures in countries where the political process and mass consciousness are not yet prepared. Equally incorrect is Debray's assumptions that such cadres virtually do not exist anywhere outside Cuba at the present time, or that the process of guerrilla war is itself sufficient to forge automatically a new, non-Stalinist leadership sufficiently sophisticated to carry the struggle through to its socialist conclusion.

For a more complete reply to Debray's theses, see the Sept.-Oct. issue of *International Socialist Review*, obtainable for 50c from the Vanguard Bookstores in Toronto and Vancouver. (R.B.)

WORKERS
Vanguard

#134 Oct. 1967

Young Socialists Launch New Vancouver Center

by Brian Slocock

September 23rd marked a major step forward for the Young Socialists in the Vancouver area. On this date the newly-formed movement of socialist youth opened its Vancouver headquarters, creating the only centre where radical youth can meet and discuss.

Some fifty enthusiastic young people gathered in the recently renovated building at 511 Carrall St. (corner of Pender), just outside Vancouver's Chinatown, to acclaim the launching of the new movement and its headquarters. The atmosphere cast by the appearance of the building, which showed both evidence of much hard work having been done and much yet to do, aptly symbolized the present character of the Young Socialists movement — not a completed structure, but a project-in-process.

The meeting was chaired by Brian Slocock, chairman of the Young Socialists at Simon Fraser University, and featured as its keynote speaker Jean Rands, an editor of *Young Socialist Forum*, and former socialist candidate for Mayor of Vancouver.

She discussed the social, economic and moral decay of our so-

ciety and the great, international movements of humanity which are shaking it to its very foundations—the anti-war struggle, the Black Power movement, and the colonial revolution. She pointed out that these events effectively exposed the inhumane character of our society to young people, and had produced a diverse series of protest reactions, from the growth of the anti-war movement to the hippie revolt. She underlined the necessity of providing these young people with leadership in transforming the structures of our society, and indicated some of the ways in which the Young Socialists sought to contribute to this urgent task. A lively discussion period which followed dealt with such topics as politicization of hippies, and Youth and the Cuban revolution.

The meeting then dissolved into a night-long session of discussion, dancing and celebration, providing a pleasant ending to an important evening.

Subscribe Now

WORKERS VANGUARD
1 Cumberland, Toronto 5

Martin's UN Speech: What He Really Said

by Dick Fidler

External Affairs minister Paul Martin's United Nations speech calling on the United States to stop the bombing of North Vietnam prompted enthusiastic greetings from many quarters.

"Mr. Martin," commented the *Globe and Mail*, "has made it possible for Canadians to hope that their Government is evolving an honest and helpful approach to the conflict." New Democrat spokesman Andrew Brewin went further: "I should like to congratulate the Secretary of State for External Affairs for his adoption of a policy this party has put forward before." Communist party leader William Kashtan chimed in: "We would hope this marks an end to Canada's policy of being quiet and heralds the beginning of an active and independent foreign policy for Canada." The CP's paper *Tribune* titled its statement: "Shift in Canada's policy." The *Tory Globe's* head was a little more modest: "At last an honest Canada." The NDP news-papers have so far said nothing. They are busy fighting elections.

What Martin Said

Actually, there is less to Martin's statement than meets the eye. Here is what he said:

"It seems clear that all attempts to bring about talks are doomed to failure unless the bombing is stopped. This is a matter of first priority if we are to start the process of de-escalation and to open the door to the conference room."

Subsequently he declared in Parliament: "The Canadian Government urged that there be a stop made in the bombing because at the present time it is of the view that this is the only way to test the willingness of North Vietnam to enter into negotiations and consultations with other countries in an effort to bring about accommodations."

American Position

But how does this statement differ from U.S. policy? Two days after Martin's UN speech, President Johnson himself told a San Antonio, Texas, audience:

"The heart of the matter is this: the United States is willing immediately to stop aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussion. We would assume that while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation."

Martin says if the United States stops bombing north Vietnam, negotiations between the Hanoi régime and the United States might ensue at the present time. Johnson says

if the United States knew for a certainty that Hanoi would agree to negotiate, he would stop the bombing. Johnson points to the tenacious resistance of the courageous north Vietnamese as evidence that they have no intention of bargaining away their rights, and reaffirms his intention to continue the bombing until he can force Hanoi to "negotiate" its terms of defeat. Martin, for his part, wants to silence the critics of American policy (and the Canadian government's support of it) by halting the bombing for the time being, and putting the onus on Hanoi to negotiate. Needless to say, Martin says nothing about withdrawal or even reduction of American and allied troop deployments in Vietnam.

Negotiations

And if the Vietnamese refuse to negotiate? Well, then, says the Liberal government, the Americans would be justified in continuing their aggression. As Prime Minister Pearson put it in the house, "I should add that while the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasized that the bombing should stop, he also pointed out that the

(See page 3)

NDP Youth Back Dowson Campaign Against Stanfield



ROSS DOWSON
Labor Candidate in Colchester-Hants By-election

FLASH — Oct. 13 — Ken Novakowski, president of the federal New Democratic Youth, has wired his support to the Dowson campaign. Novakowski's telegram, which is also signed by leading members of the Alberta Young New Democrats and NDP in Edmonton, states:

"Dear Mr. Dowson. Are shocked at NDP leadership. Displays unwarranted generosity to new spokesmen for Big Business Conservatives, leaving Stanfield unopposed, a favour old line parties never extended our leaders. Gives impression we anticipate working with him in Parliament. Suggests little basic difference between us and other parties."

"Undersigned not necessarily in agreement with League for Socialist Action policies. Since NDP's default, despite even your prodding, we endorse you critically as Labour alternative to Stanfield. Commend you on making anti-Vietnam stand the central plank. Hope campaign will demonstrate to NDP advantages and necessity of running in future under such circumstances."

Ken Novakowski, President, federal NDY
Joe Hill, President, Edmonton city Young New Democrats
John Burke, former vice-president, AYND
John Worton, youth representative to Alberta NDP
Edmonton Campus
Young New Democrats Club
Gordon Drever, Vice-president, AYND.

As official nomination day for the Colchester-Hants Nova Scotia by-election approaches, the campaign behind Ross Dowson's candidature is getting well under way. The by-election was designed to slip the newly-elected Progressive Conservative leader, Robert Stanfield, into the House of Commons. With the failure of the Nova Scotia NDP to repudiate federal leader T. C. Douglas' agreement with the Liberals not to challenge Stanfield, the League for Socialist Action is forcing the by-election with Dowson's candidature. Official nomination day is October 23. Election day is November 6.

Stanfield has already stepped

down as premier of Nova Scotia, and a meeting will be held in Truro in mid-October to hand him the PC nomination. The Liberals are not fighting Stanfield. But Liberal leader Gerald Regan told a party meeting in Truro on September 28 that his party will fight the provincial Colchester seat left vacant by Stanfield "harder than in any election in the province within the past 50 years."

Dowson is pledged to make every effort to assure that the Colchester-Hants by-election will be a confrontation between labor and capital on both international and domestic issues. He will pose the need for a new and independent foreign policy — one of ending Canada's complicity in the U.S. war of aggression against the people of Vietnam and breaking from the provocative NATO-NORAD military alliances, in favor of a policy of peace, trade and aid with the peoples of the entire world. A high priority in his list of domestic demands is public ownership of the vast Dosco holdings, including the profitable steel segment, and the development of a planned economy to provide jobs for all and production for use, not profit.

Meeting

Interest in the LSA campaign is rising. Clippings from the daily press reporting Dowson's nomination are being sent in from almost every major point in the country. Dowson was guest speaker at the first meeting of the NDP club on the Waterloo Lutheran University campus on September 27. An audience of some 60 students followed his address with great interest — among them a couple of Young Progressive Conservatives with large Stanfield placards. He is slated to speak at student meetings at the University of Toronto and at York University. Messages of solidarity are coming from such far away points as Edmonton, and financial contributions are arriving in the mail.

Friends and supporters in the Toronto area are mobilizing a big send-off for Dowson and a youthful group of supporters around which an effective force of Nova Scotians will be formed to carry the campaign in Colchester-Hants.

Trade Union Notes...

Mtl. Transit Strike Firm

As we go to press, the Québec government is threatening to smash the Montreal transit employees' strike by imposing compulsory arbitration and forcing the 6,300 striking members of the 5 CSN unions involved back to work through injunctions.

Whether the government will succeed, however, is another question. The strikers are firm as ever — the "mediation" proposals of Judge Chevalier were rejected in a secret ballot by an overwhelming vote of 96.4 percent.

The mediator's "final recommendations" were for a wage increase to \$3.05 an hour over two years. The average wage presently for the strikers, who include virtually all non-management employees at the Montreal Transportation Commission, including office workers and mechanics, is \$2.72. They are demanding \$3.50, to bring their wages into line with those of other civic employees and bus drivers in other cities (e.g., Vancouver = \$3.64).

The strike erupted within hours of a court injunction ordering the bus and Métro drivers to end their "work-to-the-rules" slowdown, and

(See page 4)

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 3 (135) October 16, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Nova Scotia Labor Assails Conditions

by P. Kent

"Until we decide to do something politically — until the people of Nova Scotia decide to take action," said Cape Breton Steelworkers leader Martin Merner to the delegates attending last month's annual convention of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour (CLC-AFL/CIO) "you are going to have to take what Big Business gives you."

He had been summarizing what Nova Scotia Big Business and its political representatives, in particular Robert Stanfield, eleven years the premier and now federal leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, have been handing out to the people of Nova Scotia.

Over 100,000 persons left the Atlantic provinces in the period 1961-66, because of poor conditions and lack of opportunities. Most of them, of course, were young people. Nova Scotia per capita income is 34% below the Canadian average. The absolute differential in per capita income rose from \$157 in 1947 to \$459 in 1964.

Primary products output continues to decline, said Merner. By 1961 fewer persons were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing

(See page 3)

QFL Acts to Form Que. Labor Party

by R. Dumont

MONTREAL, Oct. 8 — The tenth biennial convention of the Québec Federation of Labor (CLC), meeting here this week, took a further step toward the formation of a Québec labor party with the passage of a resolution calling for an "exploratory conference of progressive movements leading eventually to a regroupment of the left-wing political forces in the province within a provincial party." Another motion instructed the incoming executive "to look into the possibility of taking on a permanent employee who would devote himself mainly to the setting up" of this projected party. QFL president Louis Laberge revealed in a press conference following the convention that he expects the conference to take place later this fall.

The resolution, the major recommendation by the political action committee, comes in response to serious threats that the Union Nationale government is planning to bring in important anti-labor legislation in the next session of the legislature. In particular, upcoming contract negotiations between the

government and Québec's 150,000 organized civil servants have encouraged moves toward closer unity between the QFL and Québec's other labor body, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), which also bargains for government employees. Both federations expect a tough fight with the government.

Unlike previous vague and qualified statements by QFL leaders in favor of a provincial labor party, this resolution indicates that the federation is now willing to take the initiative in forming such a party. Significantly, it does not mention the NDP, to which the QFL is affiliated on the federal plane. The Québec NDP convention last spring evaded the question of provincial action.

The QFL convention also recommended the creation of a joint party committee with the CSN "to study seriously means of reaching trade union unity of action in Québec in all fields as soon as possible."

Among other developments at the convention was an address by a representative of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam. Our next issue will contain an analysis of the QFL convention.

MR. FIXIT



Trade Union Notes . . .

Turmoil in Teamster Local

An orgy of red-baiting is currently being fostered in Toronto Teamster local 938. Fortunately the campaign is finding little support in Toronto.

At the last meeting of local 938, members from the Northern barns packed the meeting and backed Vice-president Charles Thibault in his baiting campaign. It was openly admitted that an RCMP undercover agent was operating in the local with the knowledge and OK of Thibault.

A rank-and-file committee has been set up to investigate 'communist' activities in the local. This move is aimed at the militants in the local, including local president Lloyd Merritt, Harry Paine, chairman of the 1965 strike committee, Leo Ranko, a trustee and Denis Champagne.

Thibault, a former business agent under MacDougall, had enjoyed support from those he is now backstabbing and could not have been elected had he not allied himself with the militants who led the 1965 strike.

The creation of a witchhunt artificially, when there is little chance of its success, can be understood only if we look a little deeper into Teamster politics.

Many view the baiting as an indirect attempt to isolate Ray Taggart, president of the Hamilton Teamster local and president of the Teamster Joint Council in Ontario, comprising five locals.

Taggart is known as a progressive, and has strong support in both Hamilton and Toronto. Recently, he attacked Canadian Teamsters' Director Casey Dodds and Lawson, the International representative in Vancouver, for opposing the forty-hour week in the trucking industry. By attempting to remove his support in Toronto, his opponents could isolate him in Hamilton. (J.O.)

The following telegram to Fidel Castro was read over Radio Havana on October 25:



Prime Minister Fidel Castro, Havana, Cuba

Canadian socialists join all supporters of the Cuban revolution in mourning the death of Major Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. Grievous loss to Latin American and World Revolution.

Che's death in no way detracts from the truth of his general outline of the nature of the struggle and its socialist objective. We are confident that his inspiring call for "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" will continue to be heard and acted on throughout Latin America.

As we pay homage to the memory of a great revolutionary soldier, we dedicate ourselves anew to the anti-imperialist struggle for a socialist world of human brotherhood.

Che Guevara is dead. But his ideas live.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary, League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

CHE GUEVARA. 'An example such as this can never be eliminated by anything or anyone!' — Fidel Castro.

CHE GUEVARA: His Cause Will Triumph

On Oct. 8, after being taken prisoner by the Bolivian dictatorship's troops, Ernesto Che Guevara was murdered. Fearing that the burial place of his lifeless body would become a shrine to the oppressed masses throughout Latin America, the Bolivian puppets of imperialism cremated his body.

For millions across the globe, in the homeland of imperialism as well as in those countries still in its grasp, Che continues to live. The singleness of his dedication to the socialist revolution, the fearlessness, defiance and boldness he radiated in the face of death, his unswerving commitment to the masses under all conditions and against all odds, the clarity of his thinking and the simple sensitivity of his writings — all these characteristics of Che will burn with fury in the memory of the masses of this world and will serve to inspire millions to complete the task of routing imperialist domination from the face of the earth.

History will remember Che as the young doctor who left his country of birth, Argentina, to join the struggle against imperialism, first in Guatemala, and later in Cuba. He will be remembered by the Cubans for his heroic role in the liberation of their country. As the top field commander of Fidel Castro's forces in the guerrilla war against Batista's army, Che led the column that captured Sancti Spiritus and Santa Clara. Che was always in the front lines, leading his men, inspiring them with his shining example of commitment to the revolutionary cause. As Fidel Castro said in his speech on the death of Che: "For always, in all the time we knew him, he had displayed an extraordinary lack of fear, an absolute disregard of danger, a constant readiness, in every moment of difficulty and danger, to do the most difficult and dangerous things. And so he did on many occasions during the struggle here. So he did in the Sierra Maestra and in the Las Villas province."

Never holding back, never vacillating or showing uncertainty, Che was always the first in line, the defiant target for the bullets of imperialism, the intransigent enemy of exploitation and oppression. His greatest triumph, when he marched victorious into the streets of Havana in January 1959, after the enemy had been routed, was the

(See page 2)

Gov't Hits Transit Strikers

The Montreal transit workers' strike has finally been smashed. As the Transportation Commission's 6,300 employees entered the thirtieth day of their inspiring struggle to bring their wages into line with those of other civic workers, the Québec Legislature succeeded in doing what the courts, the Drapeau-Saulnier municipal administration, and the MTC itself had failed to do.

In effect, the law which was rammed through a special session of the legislature in record time on October 21 ordered the strikers to return to work or go to jail. The slave-labor act, unanimously endorsed by both Union Nationale and Liberal M.L.A.s, ordered a return to work within 48 hours, imposed compulsory arbitration if further "negotiations" failed, and provided for stiff fines and prison terms on individual strikers if they refused to go back to work. Moreover, the act permitted the Labor Relations Board to withdraw certi-

fication and bargaining rights from 3 of the 5 CSN unions involved if less than 70 per cent of the workers failed to comply.

A protest march called by the CSN outside the legislature fizzled when the 1000-odd demonstrators heard the terms of the bill. The dispirited employees began returning to work the next day.

A week before the special session, the transit workers, who had shut down the entire MTC system on September 21 in defiance of a court injunction ordering them to end their "work-to-the-rules" slowdown, successfully resisted another injunction ordering them back to work. Attempts by the MTC to move some buses and Métro trains, protected by heavy police details complete with helicopters flying overhead, failed in the face of massive demonstrations outside the halls. When 1500 strikers marched on City Hall chanting "Saulnier to the Gallows," and "Québec to the

Students, Unionists Join Oct. 21 Rallies — Protest Viet War

By all accounts, the October 21 Mobilization against the war in Vietnam was the biggest and most militant international protest yet. Between 100 and 150 thousand demonstrators marched in Washington, D.C., to "confront the warmakers" in both White House and Pentagon. Parallel demonstrations in Europe and throughout the world in solidarity with the American anti-war movement drew unprecedented support — 15,000 in Berlin, 4,000 in London, thousands more in Paris, Sweden, Madrid. 9,000 demonstrated in Sydney, Australia, and reports indicate 1,500,000 Japanese rallied against the war.

In Canada, observers noted a qualitative increase in participation over previous demonstrations. Particularly impressive were the large student contingents, dramatic proof of the perspective for a mass student movement against the war. In some areas, particularly Vancouver, trade union support was quite marked.

Following are some area reports.

Toronto — Despite police harassment and city hall obstruction, an unprecedented 6,000 marched from the provincial legislature to city hall on October 21. The Toronto marchers included impressive delegations from Hamilton and St. Catharines, where the Labor Council had endorsed the Mobilization. Several hundred participants from the University of Toronto "Teach-In" on Religion and International Affairs also joined the demonstration. Close to half the demonstrators were from student groups at Universities in the Toronto area. There was a very large high school contingent, including 35 from one school which did not even have a chapter of the Students Against the War in Vietnam!

Police efforts to keep the march off the main artery, Yonge street, failed. When the Ontario mobilization committee, after a few bitter internal conflicts between the nervous Nelligans of the Communist party and its pacifist allies and the more militant anti-war groups, decided to march down Yonge, permit or no permit, the cops were forced to go along with it.

Among the speakers at the rally were writer June Callwood, Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, who visited north Vietnam this year, and Joe Young of the campus Student Association to End the War in Vietnam. Both Tolentino and Young attacked the Canadian government's complicity in the war, and showed how Martin's call for an end to the bombing of north Vietnam in no way implied government support of self-determination for the Vietnam people. (D.F.)

Vancouver — Four thousand opponents of the war marched in pouring rain from City Hall to the Court House, where they were addressed by Prof. James Steele and Alderman Harry Rankin. Chairman of the rally was Jack Moore, regional president of the IWA. Among the forty sponsoring organizations were the B.C. Federation of Labour and the Vancouver Labour Council. University support was indicated earlier in the week by extensive

(See page 3)



TORONTO VIETNAM PROTEST

LSA Campaign Wins As NDP Forced to Run

TRURO, Oct. 23 (Special) — In a surprise last minute move today, the New Democratic Party entered a candidate in the Colchester-Hants by-election. Ross Dowson, who had filed his nomination papers a few hours earlier, immediately withdrew in support of Elwood Smith. Dowson, who had entered the campaign several weeks back, had been campaigning in Nova Scotia for a week.

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière entered Dowson, its executive secretary, when NDP leader T. C. Douglas' promise of no contest to the new Progressive Conservative leader Robert Stanfield was upheld by the federal and Nova Scotia NDP leaderships. By entering Dowson, the League not only forced the Tories to go to the electorate in order to get Stanfield into parliament, but compelled the NDP, even if somewhat shamefacedly, to reverse completely its position and enter Smith. At the time of his nomination Smith stated that he was an independent. He made it known that the NDP federal office had cleared the way for him, and made a formal statement that he had resigned his membership in the NDP only that

morning. Nomination papers for Smith were picked up on the morning of the 23rd by his agent Harvey Curtis, a leading NDP activist and candidate in the community. Dowson's campaign workers earlier this week had approached prominent NDPers in the area to sign nomination papers, but had been met with a solid wall of refusal. They were told that the NDP leadership had called a meeting the previous week-end where it was decided they would not participate in the probable election in any way, neither nominate nor vote. But Smith's nomination papers were headed with the signature of Gordon Schurman, prominent NDP spokesman in the area, (See page 3)

End Canada's Complicity in VIETNAM
Break From The Aggressive NATO-NORAD Military Pacts

For a Policy Independent Of the U.S. Power Structure For Peace Trade and Aid

Vote LABOUR Vote
ROSS DOWSON
Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants

Vote LABOUR



Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants
ROSS DOWSON

CAMPAIGN POSTERS. Above are the two posters of the LSA/LSO campaign in Colchester-Hants by-election. Colors were green and white, the official colors of NDP.

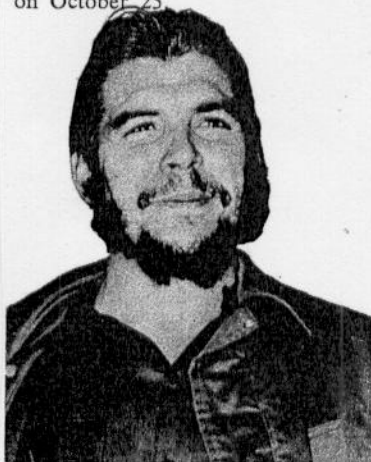
THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 4 (136)

October 30, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

The following telegram to Fidel Castro was read over Radio Havana on October 25.



CHE GUEVARA. 'An example such as this can never be eliminated by anything or anyone!' — Fidel Castro.

Prime Minister Fidel Castro,
Havana, Cuba

Canadian socialists join all supporters of the Cuban revolution in mourning the death of Major Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. Grievous loss to Latin American and World Revolution.

Che's death in no way detracts from the truth of his general outline of the nature of the struggle and its socialist objective. We are confident that his inspiring call for "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" will continue to be heard and acted on throughout Latin America.

As we pay homage to the memory of a great revolutionary soldier, we dedicate ourselves anew to the anti-imperialist struggle for a socialist world of human brotherhood.

Che Guevara is dead. But his ideas live.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary,
League for Socialist Action/
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

CHE GUEVARA: His Cause Will Triumph

On Oct. 8, after being taken prisoner by the Bolivian dictatorship's troops, Ernesto Che Guevara was murdered. Fearing that the burial place of his lifeless body would become a shrine to the oppressed masses throughout Latin America, the Bolivian puppets of imperialism cremated his body.

For millions across the globe, in the homeland of imperialism as well as in those countries still in its grasp, Che continues to live. The singlemindedness of his dedication to the socialist revolution, the fearlessness, defiance and boldness he radiated in the face of death, his unswerving commitment to the masses under all conditions and against all odds, the clarity of his thinking and the simple sensitivity of his writings — all these characteristics of Che will burn with fury in the memory of the masses of this world and will serve to inspire millions to complete the task of routing imperialist domination from the face of the earth.

History will remember Che as the young doctor who left his country of birth, Argentina, to join the struggle against imperialism, first in Guatemala, and later in Cuba. He will be remembered by the Cubans for his heroic role in the liberation of their country. As the top field commander of Fidel Castro's forces in the guerrilla wars against Batista's army, Che led the column that captured Sancti Spiritus and Santa Clara. Che was always in the front lines, leading his men, in-

spiring them with his shining example of commitment to the revolutionary cause. As Fidel Castro said in his speech on the death of Che: "For always, in all the time we knew him, he had displayed an extraordinary lack of fear, an absolute disregard of danger, a constant readiness, in every moment of difficulty and danger, to do the most difficult and dangerous things. And so he did on many occasions during the struggle here. So he did in the Sierra Maestra and in the Las Villas province."

Never holding back, never vacillating or showing uncertainty, Che was always the first in line, the defiant target for the bullets of imperialism, the intransigent enemy of exploitation and oppression. His greatest triumph, when he marched victorious into the streets of Havana in January 1959, after the enemy had been routed, was the

(See page 2)

... Che Guevara

(continued from page 1)

inevitable tribute to his courage and mastery of the logistics of guerrilla warfare.

Guevara participated in the social reconstruction of the new Cuba. As Minister of Industries, he played a key role in transforming Cuban industry from capitalist anarchy to a stable, planned, socialized economic organization. Equally important, however, was Che's role in developing the social and international consciousness of the Cuban masses, in championing moral and social ideals rather than material incentives. Che's writings and speeches deal with the problems of building a new man in a new world, with the road to liberating man from the hateful, alienating system of capitalism.

His call to humanity to build a new society dedicated to freeing man from economic servitude and the system which imposes it, is the subject of his *Socialism and Man*. "To build communism," he wrote, "you must build new men as well as the new economic base." Elsewhere in this brilliant pamphlet, he adds, "At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality. Perhaps it is one of the great dramas of the leader that he must combine a passionate spirit with a cold intelligence and make painful decisions without contracting a muscle. Our vanguard revolutionaries must idealize this love of the people, the most sacred cause, and make it one and indivisible."

In March, 1965, Guevara delivered his last public speech harshly attacking the nonrevolutionary policies of the countries of the socialist camp. He then dropped out of sight.

Che left Cuba to participate in the struggle to liberate the rest of Latin America. His stirring declarations of solidarity with the masses of Asia and Africa were not academic exercises. He had profound feelings of international solidarity in the fight for a socialist world; his commitment was to the oppressed of the *entire* world. And it was for the entire world that he gave his life.

"Wherever death may surprise us," wrote Che, "let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men come forward to join in our funeral dirge with the chattering of machine guns and new calls for battle and for victory."

A time will come when the Pearsons and Johnsons and Wilsons will be swept into oblivion by the tidal flow of history, and a new, more humane, more beautiful world will come to birth. Che was one who, in the struggle of the present, became a man of the future. Viva Che!

Nationalism in Quebec

by Arthur Young

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, October 1967)

MONTREAL — "I don't like to make the analogy, but in time of war we agree on basic objectives," Prime Minister Pearson told CBC-TV on September 27. Why does Pearson recall wartime conditions? Is he really deeply worried by the threat of Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada?

The Ottawa government, which holds that the unity of the country is sacred and inviolate, as well as a certain sector of English Canadian society, have been alarmed by the growing debate within this province over the future of the French Canadian nation. They have been shocked to realize that, far from celebrating 100 years of Canada's existence, French Canadians are debating how to escape from the constitutional status quo. Their discontent with the present situation has been reflected recently in the rise of separatist activity and support.

Growing Debate

René Lévesque's call for a Quebec separate from the rest of Canada has sparked renewed public debate on the issue. He follows on the heels of François Aquin, once a leading member of the Quebec Liberal party, who resigned from that party over its conduct during the crisis sparked by de Gaulle's visit; Aquin now sits in the Quebec House as an independent separatist. Shortly after Lévesque's call, the Dominion Catholic magazine *Maintenant* declared itself in favor of a separate, socialist Quebec. The recent period has seen an increase in the activities of the separatist Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN). The debate is continuing to grow; five conventions take place in this province this month — the Quebec Federation of Labor, the reformist-separatist RIN, the right-separatist Ralliement National, Real Caouette's Créditistes, and the provincial Liberal Party. All these organizations are, in one way or another, debating the constitutional future of Quebec.

One could speculate on the exact reasons for the outbreak of this crisis at this time. The deGaulle visit and the reaction of English Canadian ruling circles had a deep impact: first of all, in showing the Québécois that they are not a small minority within an English majority, but rather part of a world-wide French-speaking community, which is interested in Quebec's fate; secondly, in showing this province how hysterical the Ottawa government and its propaganda apparatus could be when its "sacred" federal prerogatives were put into question.

The economic situation might also be held partly responsible for the debate. It is clear that Quebec faces an economic downturn of some importance after this autumn; provincial government funds are already strained to the limit, and private investment in the province has decreased in the last year, reinforcing the long-term tendency for investments in Quebec to fall behind those in Ontario. In face of this difficult situation, the French petty-bourgeoisie may well be feeling a little desperate, and certain elements of the class have opted for separation, thinking to better their lot by this means. Or

perhaps others think that in encouraging Quebec nationalist sentiment they can in some measure calm the militancy of the working class by appealing to its national sentiments.

In any case, the discontent of the Québécois with the status quo is plain for all to see. However, their minds are not yet made up as to what changes they want. Three concepts have emerged: 1. separation, 2. special status for Quebec, 3. self-determination.

Separatism

As for separation, it should be clearly understood that no major sector of Quebec society — except for a part of the middle class represented by the St-Jean-Baptiste societies — at the moment favors separation from Canada. Certain individuals like Aquin and Lévesque have put forward this demand, but neither of the major bourgeois political parties in the province have endorsed it. The separatist RIN got only 9% of the votes in the last provincial elections — fewer than did the Quebec NDP in the 1965 federal elections. The ruling Union Nationale of Daniel Johnson stands against separation at the present time — its slogan is "Equality or Independence," and it loudly proclaims itself in favor of staying within Canada in a search for such equality. The secret "Plan for Independence" prepared for the party's consideration before the last provincial elections, was rejected by the party brass, and suppressed until now. Those who have any doubt on this matter need only refer to Johnson's declaration from Hawaii ("The U.N. [*Union Nationale*] was not elected in 1966 to build a great wall of China around Quebec").

As for the Quebec Liberals — while they have been undergoing a sharp crisis over this question, and while Lévesque has announced his intention to carry the fight to their convention, there can be no doubt: they stand for Confederation. The coming congress will not essentially change this stand, the leading Liberals from Lesage on down having declared war on the Lévesque proposals, many of them threatening to quit the party if it takes a separatist stand — which it will not do.

The trade unions, for their part, have tended to over-react to bourgeois nationalist demagoguery by taking refuge in sometimes reactionary schemas which ignore or violate the progressive features of the national question. They, too, tend to treat it as a purely constitutional-linguistic issue.

"Special Status"

The influential editor of (*the Montreal daily*) *Le Devoir*, Claude Ryan, and the Quebec NDP have both opted for the second formula, that of "special status" for Quebec. They call for special "concessions" and powers to be given to the province of Quebec, the "foyer" of the French Canadian nation. While *Le Devoir* and the NDP differ quite radically in their conceptions of what powers should be ceded to Quebec, the basic content of the proposal remains the same — Quebec, a Canadian province, but not like the others.

Both Ryan and Cliche, the NDP's Quebec leader, point out also that their proposal does not have the support of the masses of the province, that up to now only a certain layer of middle class elements have really taken up the constitutional issue.

Both proposals have the same basic flaw — they attempt to solve the national question — a complex question, but above all one with economic roots — by means of legal and constitutional adjustments to the status quo. To French Canadians, and particularly the workers, the relevant issue is their low wage rates (68% those of their Ontario neighbors), record unemployment levels (over 40% of the Canadian total), and discrimination in hiring practices by English-speaking employers. When it is recalled that only 10% of Quebec's labor force works for French-speaking employers, the fact that the Quebec workers' revolt takes a national form should not be surprising. While one cannot dismiss factors such as language and culture as elements in this national revolt, it is vital to recall that the basic factor is the super-exploitation of the entire French Canadian nation by foreign capital.

Thus neither separatism in itself (without basic changes to the structure of Canadian society) nor some "special status" can adequately respond to the needs of the Quebec working class. More radical solutions which go to the economic and social roots of the national oppression of French Canadians — the capitalist system — are required if those needs are to be met.

Self-Determination

Sectors of the labor movement defend the right of the French Canadian nation to self-determination, that is, the right to freely choose its own destiny, without political interference or blackmail by outside forces. The socialist approach to the national question also begins at this point. Defence of the right of self-determination does not mean support or opposition to separatism as such. Nor does it mean an *a priori* commitment to any other formula for constitutional reform. The French Canadian workers have not yet declared where they stand on any of the proposed political remedies; yet it is they who must decide this question. When they do decide, socialists will support their choice, whatever it may be.

Meanwhile, the discussion continues over the future of Quebec. But French Canadians can not help wondering what kind of "wartime unity" the prime minister is thinking of. Does he recall that the federal government, during the last World War, sent the mayor of Montreal to a concentration camp to impose its "unity" on the country? Does he recall that over 80 percent of French Canadians voted against the imposition of conscription during that war, yet it was imposed on the grounds that an overwhelming majority of English-speaking Canadians voted in favor — despite the fact that the promise not to implement conscription, which the plebiscite had reversed, had been given **exclusively** to the Québécois! Does Pearson recall that occupation troops were necessary to force conscription on Quebec?

Perhaps the Prime Minister has forgotten how "wartime unity" was imposed. But Quebec has not.

It is no accident that recent efforts on the part of groups of workers to improve their economic and on-the-job conditions, and which have led to strikes, have come under attack from the Minister of Labour. The key premise of Mr. Stanfield's development program is the maintenance of Nova Scotia as a low wage area. At the recent convention of the N.S. Federation of Labour President John Lynk declared: "If industry coming into this province can't pay decent wages — we don't want it."

But Nova Scotia is not now without industry. On Cape Breton stands one of the biggest industrial complexes in all Canada.

The federal and Stanfield governments, with vast public funds, have agreed to buy out Dosco's currently unprofitable coal mines. They plan to phase out coal production over the next 15 years.

For public ownership

The people of Nova Scotia must not permit this. They must demand that the coal mines continue to operate, under public ownership — as the N.S. Federation of Labour demanded in 1962. Further, there must be no phasing out without every worker being guaranteed a job in the community. The steel sector, which the wealthy Hawker Siddeley interests are not thinking of quitting, should also be taken over. The wall of secrecy surrounding Industrial Estates Limited must be torn aside. The working people, through their democratically elected representatives, must be full participants and in fact have the decisive power to decide all matters with regard to the development of the province.

The difficulties confronting the people of Nova Scotia compel them to think in terms of moving out boldly in this new direction, to be pioneers in the establishment of a new Canada-wide society where democracy will be extended into the processes whereby we live. No longer can matters determining production be settled by the profit sheet of an individual or small group of owners.

The people of Nova Scotia can make the first big moves by developing the means for the planning of the economy of their own province in the direction of planning the economy of the entire country in the interests of the working people of Canada.

This is the challenge of the November 6 Colchester-Hants by-election.

set by union labour

The candidate

While Robert Stanfield was born to power and wealth, into a family of big businessmen whose members have occupied every leading post in Nova Scotia public life but leader of the opposition, Ross Dowson, son of a Toronto printer, has for 30 years been a leading and active participant in the Canadian labour movement. Dowson participated in the unemployed movement in the 1930's, and subsequently worked as a tool and die maker and an active participant in the United Steelworkers of America. He spent four years in the Canadian army, became a lieutenant, and played a leading role in the struggle to reverse the government policy of compelling soldiers to work in industry at army rates of pay.

While Robert Stanfield attended posh Harvard University and edited the *Harvard Law Review*, Dowson left university after a short spell to become editor of a labour newspaper. For the past ten years he has been editor of the *Workers Vanguard*.

Ross Dowson is an experienced campaigner. He has contested the office of Mayor in Toronto on several occasions, polling 23,645 votes in one election. He has contested federal elections against Tory leader George Hees and the late Tory external affairs minister Sydney Smith.

He is known to many trade unionists across the country as author of the recently published pamphlet **The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions**. He is executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, and toured Canada last winter speaking in universities, public meetings and on radio on the topic "Canada's Socialist Future."

The League for Socialist Action

The League for Socialist Action, which is sponsoring Ross Dowson's campaign in Colchester-Hants, is an organization of Canadian men and women which supports the New Democratic Party, seeking to influence it to adopt a socialist program and direction. The LSA's goal is to win the majority to establish a socialist Canada as part of a world-wide society of peace and plenty.

Subscribe to

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

a twice monthly journal that fights for this program all year around. Take advantage of our special offer. Mail \$1.00 for 24 issues to:

1 Cumberland Street, Toronto 5, Ontario

Vote **LABOR**



Nov 6 Colchester-Hants

Ross
DOWSON

sponsored by League for Socialist Action

The working people of this country are on the march to build a mass political party of their own and to take power into their own hands. This party, the New Democratic Party, is in irreconcilable conflict with the parties of the business interests — the Liberal Party headed by Lester Pearson and the Progressive Conservative Party headed by Robert Stanfield.

To expedite the development of the party of labour on a Canada-wide scale and to give the electorate in Colchester-Hants an opportunity to swing behind it — this is the fundamental purpose of the campaign to elect Ross Dowson.

Even more, the people of Colchester-Hants have an opportunity in this by-election to speak out on the new challenges before us, on behalf of all of us.

The Liberals and Tories have pursued a bi-partisan policy of shameful complicity in the genocidal war now being waged by the rulers of the United States against the people of Vietnam. The continued escalation of this war now very clearly threatens China and all mankind with nuclear destruction. This coming spring Canada's membership in the aggressive NATO-NORAD military alliances, which have bound us to such corrupt and reactionary regimes as now rule over Portugal and Greece, is up for re-negotiation.

End complicity in Vietnam

The Colchester-Hants by-election can be a powerful protest that would be heard across the continent for a basic change in Canada's direction. For an independent foreign policy, one of opposition to, and not apologetics for, the aggressive imperialist actions that the rulers of the U.S. are waging against popular freedom movements right across the globe! For a policy of peace and friendship, of trade and aid with the advancing popular forces for social progress everywhere!

Ottawa, under both the Liberals and Tories, has used Canadian membership on the International Control Commission in Vietnam to cover up the criminal deeds of Washington and even, it has been revealed, to enable Canadian ICC members to act as spies for the U.S.! In crude mockery of Canada's declared neutrality the men of Ottawa have become merchants of death — and turned Canada into an arsenal for manufacturing the instruments of mass murder in Vietnam. They have frustrated attempts to give medical aid to the suffering Vietnamese. Ottawa has used the good will and respect other

nations have held for Canada to cover up the crimes of Washington, and deceive and mollify those who seek to stop their reckless course in Vietnam.

End Canadian complicity in the war in Vietnam! For a policy of solidarity with the expanding anti-war forces in the United States who want U.S. troops withdrawn! For a policy that recognizes the right of all nations to self-determination — including the Vietnamese people!

For a worker's Canada

The Liberal-Tory foreign policy is no accident: it flows just as logically as their domestic policies from the needs of the big business interests whose political cause they represent.

"Until we decide to do something politically," said a Cape Breton steel union leader to the recent Federation of Labour convention, "until the people of Nova Scotia decide to take action, you are going to have to take what big business gives you."

He summarized what N.S. big business and its political representatives, in particular Robert Stanfield — as 11 years premier, now federal leader of the Progressive Conservative party and aspirant for the Colchester-Hants seat — have been handing out to the people of Nova Scotia.

Mass exodus of Nova Scotians from the land of their birth because of poor conditions and lack of opportunities. A drastic decline in traditional basic industries — collapse in coal, the future of steel in grave doubt. Home building falling, wages and salaries down and deteriorating due to continued inflation.

The situation in Nova Scotia is sometimes presented as unique in Canada — as beyond the control of man, something akin to a natural disaster. But it should be considered by all Canadians as a warning of their future. There are many pockets in the economy, perhaps now not so large as Nova Scotia, suffering a serious decline. In Nova Scotia



we have the phenomenon of the weakest area forecasting the future of the whole.

The labour movement of Nova Scotia with its 35,000 members, along with its sister movements across the land, have generally worked out a basic program for the defence of the interests of the working people. Here are some salient demands of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour:

—government subsidized low cost, low rental housing.

—provincial implementation of a full medicare program, publicly administered and controlled.

—a vast program of technical school and job retraining opportunities.

—a minimum wage of \$1.75 for men and women, and abolition of the wage zoning system. Legislation of the 40 hour week, with time-and-a-half for over-time.

—abolition of restrictive anti-labour legislation limiting the right to form unions, and to strike. Abolition of compulsory arbitration and strike-breaking injunctions.

—legislation of equal rights to Negro and other minorities.

The winning of these demands, which the regime led by Stanfield has never conceded, is basic and essential to the welfare of the people of Nova Scotia and all Canada. Dowson supports all of them.

But what about the major problem of the decline of the economy and its long range development?

What is Stanfield's record in Nova Scotia, and what policies will he pursue in Ottawa? His Nova Scotia record in this area speaks for itself.

The major achievement of Mr. Stanfield's 11-year term of office, according to his admirers, is in the area of the industrial development of the province. The chief instrument of his policy is the crown corporation — Industrial Estates Limited.

In keeping with his government's big business outlook, Industrial Estates Limited is in the complete control of business interests — its president is mercantile tycoon F. H. Sobey. It divulges little or no information about its dealings. Its function is to siphon huge sums of money from the public treasury (not available for housing, medicare, etc.) into the pockets of business corporations which promise to move into the province. Aside from assuring cheap credit on a mass scale and all kinds of tax exemptions, IEL holds out as extra bait the low wage scales and lack of welfare benefits that Nova Scotian workers suffer.

November 9th, 1967.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Officials of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee charged today that the recent wave of accusations made against the Cuban diplomatic staff and Expo personnel by Social Credit MP Robert Thompson, and indirectly backed by External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, are "completely without foundation, and constitute a deliberate move on Mr. Thompson's part to worsen diplomatic relations between Cuba and this country."

Without exception, said the Fair Play committee spokesmen, Mr. Thompson's charges are second hand or based on outright hearsay. Many of them appear to be warmed over rumours circulated earlier this year by a right wing U.S. scandal sheet, the Inside's Newsletter, alleging that Cuban Expo officials were engaged in the training of separatists.

Mr. Thompson's charge that Radio Havana, which has been broadcasting to North America in both English and French for many years, is inciting Canadians to revolt "is equally fallacious," the FPCC statement says. "Ottawa has had nearly one month since Thompson's charge to investigate the broadcasts, which Mr. Martin admits are monitored by American authorities, and they have not been able to come up with any evidence to suggest that 'outside subversion' is behind any unrest among Canada's Indians or French-speaking population.

"That Mr. Thompson should indulge in such irresponsible rumour peddling itself is not surprising," the statement continues, "since his party has been pressing continually for a break in diplomatic relations with Cuba. What is much more serious is that External Affairs Minister Martin has lent official credence to these ridiculous slanders by assuring Mr. Thompson that 'the charges are not being treated lightly.'

"Surely Mr. Martin is not unaware of the flood of provocations against the Cuban diplomatic mission, not to mention the bombings, which the government has to this day not cleared up. Rather than resolutely rejecting these accusations -- a duty Mr. Martin owes the Cuban mission -- he has himself added grist to the rumour mill. His behavior indicates a move on the part of the Canadian government to create friction between Ottawa and Havana. Only a full apology to the Cuban Embassy can dispel that impression."

Quebec Labor Meet

By John Morgan

MONTREAL — In his opening speech to the 10th Congress of the Quebec Federation of Labor, which closed here Oct. 8, Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche told delegates that that "pure and simple unionism" is at an impasse in Quebec.

Cliche challenged the QFL to declare itself for political action under its own banner. The convention complied by reaffirming the federation's support for the NDP on the federal level, and calling for a conference of all "left-oriented groups" in Quebec this fall. Attempts to refer the motion, and evasions by opponents such as supporters of the now virtually defunct Parti Socialiste du Québec, were squarely defeated in the lively debate on the resolution, which had been recommended by the Political Action Committee presided over by Quebec NDP president Roland Morin of the UAW.

The move to build a labor party comes in response to the growing use of anti-labor legislation, compulsory arbitration, and injunctions by the capitalist parties and courts, both provincial and federal.

Political Action

The QFL and NDP leaders have their own reasons for projecting a labor party at this time. Cliche, for example, lamented the weakness of parliamentary democracy in Quebec, which he said was just the shadow of the real power, the big monopolies. He posed the labor party as a means of strengthening the legislature. QFL president Louis Laberge, for his part, was expressing the foreboding of the QFL bureaucracy in the face of the united Union Nationale-Liberal onslaught on the organized labor movement, when he devoted his key-note speech to a scarcely-veiled attack on workers in the public sector, particularly the striking transit employees. In his references to "class strikes directed more against other groups of workers than employers," and his claims that employers are starting to have a certain "social awareness" while unions have developed a "frenetic appetite for gains" at the expense of the poor and unorganized, Laberge suggested he had already conceded defeat in the forthcoming civil service negotiations with the provincial government.

Autonomy

Despite Laberge's scandalous remarks, however, some delegates de-

fended the transit workers' demands. And an emergency resolution from one of the railway unions condemning any government intervention in the transit strike, was passed unanimously the next day.

The Congress also pushed toward greater autonomy within the Canadian Labor Congress. It established full-time QFL posts of president, general secretary and director of political action. It also swung the federation behind demands that it assume some of the functions of the CLC in Quebec (the right to charter local groups of organized workers, labor councils and industrial or trade councils). At the same time it called for a "stronger CLC" through a proposal that all international unions be required to create Canadian districts.

Of the 350,000 CLC members in Quebec, 198,000 are affiliated to the QFL, which was created by the federal body as its provincial voice, just as the various city labor councils were created to carry the CLC policies to the urban level. In recent years the QFL has been playing a much bigger role in its own right, due to several factors — the indifference of CLC area representatives, competition with the rival CSN, growing attempts by the provincial legislature to restrict labor's rights, absence of a provincial labor party, etc. At last year's CLC convention, the QFL demanded — and was refused — a greater authority over CLC Quebec affiliates. And CLC executive vice-president William Dodge stated at the QFL congress that he was dead set against granting any "special status" to the Quebec trade union movement, on the phony grounds that it would result in the CLC's "disintegration."

National Question

An important discussion on the national question was also sparked around two resolutions: one, a composite presented by the council placing the congress against separation for Quebec at the present time (a reference to separatism as a "bourgeois ideology" was deleted) and the second from an IWA local call-

WORKERS Vanguard

#137 Nov. 1967

ing for the recognition of "the right to self-determination for Quebec up to and including secession." Both resolutions passed by more than two-thirds majorities after a short but good debate in which several delegates denied the two resolutions were necessarily contradictory, pointing out that the "right" to secede was important to reaffirm even if the congress had decided that separation did not correspond to the needs of Quebec workers now.

Other developments at the QFL convention included speeches by a delegate from the Soviet trade unions, and a representative of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam, who was touring Quebec as a guest of the students union, UGEQ. But a resolution on Vietnam merely called for withdrawal of "all foreign armies", and said nothing about Ottawa's and Quebec's complicity in the war. Resolutions calling for nationalization of public utilities and a public inquiry into strike-torn Hydro-Quebec passed without comment. A relatively non-committal proposal for a kind of parity committee with the CSN to "investigate" areas of common action was carried with the support of the QFL leadership, despite stiff opposition from delegates who questioned the CSN's desire for a truce in its "raiding" activities. An anti-injunction resolution failed to project direct mass action to defy the courts.

In general, the congress remained squarely in the hands of the leadership. The "official caucus" slate of officers met no serious challenge. The voice of the ranks was heard most clearly in the debate on the Quebec labor party, and delegates' insistence on the urgency of the task. But the militant forces remained weak and disorganized, and did not put forth a rounded alternative program.

What's Behind the Lies Against Cuba?

November 9—Officials of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee charged today that the recent wave of accusations made against the Cuban diplomatic staff and Expo personnel by Social Credit MP Robert Thompson, and indirectly backed by External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, are "completely without foundation, and constitute a deliberate move on Mr. Thompson's part to worsen diplomatic relations between Cuba and this country." Without exception, said the Fair Play committee spokesmen, Mr. Thompson's charges are second hand or based on outright hearsay. Many of them appear to be warmed over rumours circulated earlier this year by a right wing U.S. scandal sheet, the *Inside's Newsletter*, alleging that Cuban Expo officials were engaged in the training of separatists.

Mr. Thompson's charge that Radio Havana, which has been broadcasting to North America in both English and French for many years, is inciting Canadians to revolt "is equally fallacious," the FPCC statement says. "Ottawa has had nearly one month since Thompson's charge to investigate the broadcasts, which Mr. Martin admits are monitored by American authorities, and they have not been able to come up with any evidence to suggest that 'outside subversion' is behind any unrest among Canada's Indians or French-speaking population.

"That Mr. Thompson should indulge in such irresponsible rumour peddling itself is not surprising," the statement continues, "since his party has been pressing continually for a break in diplomatic relations with Cuba. What is much more serious is that External Affairs Minister Martin has lent official credence to these ridiculous slanders by assuring Mr. Thompson that 'the charges are not being treated lightly.'

"Surely Mr. Martin is not unaware of the flood of provocations



PAUL MARTIN

against the Cuban diplomatic mission, not to mention the bombings, which the government has to this day not cleared up. Rather than resolutely rejecting these accusations — a duty Mr. Martin owes the Cuban mission — he has himself added grist to the rumour mill. His behavior indicates a move on the part of the Canadian government to create friction between Ottawa and Havana. Only a full apology to the Cuban Embassy can dispel that impression."

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

IN MONTREAL

La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière,
66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

IN OTTAWA

Workers Vanguard,
Station D, Box 2165

IN TORONTO

League for Socialist Action,
1 Cumberland St.

IN EDMONTON

Workers Vanguard,
11129-89th Ave.

IN VANCOUVER

League for Socialist Action,
1208 Granville

'Che' was Captured Alive, Then Murdered

(In its account of the death of Che Guevara, the reactionary Luce publication, *Time* magazine, reported that Che had been taken alive and shot the day after his capture, on orders from above. Reporters noted the presence of at least one American military officer and a suspected CIA agent when Guevara's body was brought in for display to Vallegrande.)

(Walter Operto, a correspondent of the sensationalistic Buenos Aires magazine *Así*, managed to interview four soldiers concerning the execution of Guevara and then flew out of the country before the Bolivian authorities could seize the tape. The following is a translation of part of Operto's article which was reproduced in the October 20 issue of *Marcha*, the Uruguayan weekly.)

At four in the afternoon of Friday the thirteenth, we were in Vallegrande, interviewing Colonel Joaquín Zenteno Anaya, head of the 8th Division of the army. We told him that we would like to interview the soldiers and officers who fought in the battle where "Che" lost his life. Colonel Zenteno Anaya

replied that this was impossible since these men were not in Vallegrande. "They are in the Quebrada del Yuro," he told us, "on the trail of those who were with 'Che'." But a half hour later, without Colonel Zenteno Anaya knowing about it, we were in Señor de Malta hospital talking with four soldiers who were convalescing from the wounds they received in the encounter with "Che's" guerrilla fighters. These four soldiers, belonging to the group of "Rangers" trained by U.S. officers, told the special correspondents of *Así* that "Che" had been wounded, that he had been taken prisoner and that he was killed the day following the battle. . .

The soldier Miguel Taboada, of Cochabamba, fought against "Che" in Higuera, receiving a bullet wound in his left leg. Here is what he told us:

"You fought in Higuera against 'Che'?"

"Yes."

"Was he killed instantly?"

"No. A round from a machine gun broke his legs and another shot jammed his automatic rifle."

"That means he was taken alive?"

"Yes."

"And what was done with him?"

"The cadetes (in Bolivia officers are called cadetes) surrounded him and talked with him."

"And then?"

"We made camp. We were tired and we had wounded compañeros. The guerrillas who were with 'Che' had retreated."

"Did you see 'Che' alive?"

"Yes."

"And when did he die?"

"The next day."

"Did he die from his wounds?"

"No."

"Then how did he die? Was he killed?"

"Lieutenant Prado killed him with a bullet in the heart."

Julio Paco, Valentín Choque and Benito Giménez said the same. The three, like Taboada, saw "Che" alive, and the three declared that "Lieutenant Prado killed him the next day with a bullet in the heart."

As we were listening to this sensational revelation, another soldier in the bed next to Taboada, who had been wounded in an earlier battle with the guerrillas, shouted to a nurse who happened to come into the room:

"Run to the post and tell an officer to come at once. . ."

We took this as a signal to get out of the place. Fifteen minutes later our plane was flying over Vallegrande. Below, a military jeep was racing along the road to the airport.

An hour later we were saying goodbye by Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Life of 'Che' Guevara Devoted to Revolution

(from Workers' Vanguard, November 1967)

The life of Ernesto "Che" Guevara spanned the present and foreshadowed the future of the Latin American revolution.

Guevara's acquaintance with Latin America and the problems of its oppressed millions of people reaches back into his early youth. In his native Argentina, he participated as a student in street battles in Buenos Aires against the police of dictator Juan Peron. While still in his early 20's, he interrupted his medical studies to travel by foot and motorcycle up the Pacific Coast of the continent. It was through his free wheeling adventures on this trip that he came to appreciate the wretched conditions of the Indian masses. He developed an intense interest in leprosy and other tropical diseases.

Guatemalan Experience

At the age of 25, he graduated and left Argentina to go to Venezuela where he intended to work in a leper colony. But en route, a friend persuaded him to go instead to Guatemala, where the left-wing Arbenz government had recently taken power. He joined the Guatemalan army in 1954.

When Arbenz was overthrown by a CIA-engineered coup, Che fought without success against the Communist party policy of capitulation. Later, in the Cuban Sierra Maestra in 1958, he summed up his bitter conclusions: "In Guatemala, it was necessary to fight, and almost no one fought. It was necessary to resist, and almost no one wanted to do it."

From Guatemala, Che escaped to Mexico, where he followed up contacts he had made earlier with the Cuban 26th of July Movement. In July, 1955, he met Fidel Castro. Che was 27. Fidel, not quite 29, had just been released from prison in Cuba where he had served 22 months for leading the July 26, 1953 assault on the Moncada fortress.

In November, 1956, their force of 82 men set sail for Cuba in the *Granma*, an unseaworthy craft built to carry eight. Within days of landing in Cuba, 60 men had been killed outright by Batista's army and airforce, and 10 more had made their way to the cities where they were captured and imprisoned. Only 12, including Fidel and Che, reassembled finally in the foothills of the Sierra Maestra.

Cuban Guerrilla

By the following spring, the tiny company had grown to several hundred, and the original twelve men had become battle-hardened veterans. Che became one of the top field commanders of the guerrilla army, leading the column that captured Sancti Spiritus and Santa Clara. Following the triumphal entry into Havana in January, 1959, he became an outstanding leader of the new revolutionary government.

As Minister of Industries, Guevara played a leading role in the transformation of Cuba

into a workers' state. As Cuba's delegate at the 1961 Inter-American conference at Punta del Este, where the U.S. launched the so-called Alliance for Progress, he sharply counterposed the perspective of armed revolutionary struggle in Latin America to the schemes of imperialism put forward by the U.S.A. and its satellites.

At home, he championed moral and social rather than individual material incentives in the construction of socialism in Cuba. His speeches and writings played a great part in establishing the Cuban revolution as an independent revolutionary tendency in the world communist movement, not subordinated to either Moscow or Peking (Beijing).

In March, 1965, after returning to Cuba from an extensive trip abroad that included Africa and China, Guevara delivered his last public speech which sharply criticized the nonrevolutionary policies of countries of the socialist camp.

The following month, Che dropped from sight. In a letter to Fidel, he explained: "I feel that I have fulfilled the part of my duty that tied me to the Cuban revolution in its territory. . . Other nations of the world call for my modest efforts."

Two, Three . . . Many Vietnams

For two years, silence surrounded the activities of Che Guevara. Then, in April of this year, Che's message to the Tricontinental (Congress in Havana) revealed to the world that he was alive and carrying on the revolutionary struggle, as we now know, in Bolivia. Appropriately, his declaration was concerned mainly with the war in Vietnam. Against American imperialism, he said, there is only one recourse, and that is to struggle for a socialist revolution.

"The Americas," he said, "will undertake a much more outstanding task — the creation of a second or third Vietnam, or the world's second or third Vietnam."

While pointing out that American imperialism of course bears prime responsibility for the war, that "its crimes are immense and known to the world," Che did not hesitate to castigate the Soviet and Chinese ruling bureaucracies for their tacit allowance of that aggression.

"They likewise are guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory. . . And they are guilty who keep up a war of insults and tripping each other, begun some time ago by the representatives of the two biggest powers in the socialist camp.

"We ask, seeking an honest answer: is Vietnam isolated or not, doing a dangerous balancing act between the two disputing powers?"

Revolutionary Commitment

For Che Guevara, the revolution was his whole life. In *Socialism and Man* he explained the meaning of his revolutionary commitment. "The leaders of the revolution have children just beginning to talk who are not learning to call their fathers by name; wives from whom they have to be separated as part of the general sacrifice of their lives to bring the revolution to its fulfillment: the circle of their friends is strictly limited to the number of fellow revolutionists. There is no life outside of the revolution.

"In these circumstances one must have a great deal of humanity and a strong sense of justice and truth in order not to fall into extreme dogmatism and cold scholasticism, into an isolation from the masses. . ."

Truly, Ernesto Che Guevara had such humanity and honesty. Fidel Castro, in his memorial tribute to Che spoke for all of us when he said: "Che has become a model of what men should be, not only for our people but also for people everywhere in Latin America. Che carried to its highest expression revolutionary stoicism, the revolutionary spirit of sacrifice, revolutionary combativeness, the revolutionary's spirit of work. ... No other man of our time has carried the spirit of internationalism to its highest possible level as Che did."

Canadian & International Memorials to Che

Memorial meetings to the martyred Latin American revolutionary leader Ernesto 'Che' Guevara were held in several Canadian cities.

Over 300 **Toronto** citizens attended a tribute sponsored by the university Latin American Justice clubs, the U of T African Students Association, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and several prominent individuals including world-renowned city planner Hans Blumenfeld and West Indian novelist A. M. N. Clarke. Among speakers were Rev. John Morgan of the First Unitarian Congregation, Naison Mawande, president of the African Students Union, prominent Guyanese writer Jan Carew, Cuban consul Manuel Roderiguez, and FPCC national chairman Hans Modlich.

About 120 students at the University of Alberta, **Edmonton**, attended a tribute to Guevara sponsored by the New Democratic Youth club. The meeting heard a recording of Fidel Castro reading the Second Declaration of Havana, and a speech by Prof. Ken Mills of the Philosophy department. Mills called on the students to commit themselves to the revolutionary cause Guevara had stood for.

The meeting sent a message of solidarity with the Latin American revolution to Havana. The resolution also called for investigations into the circumstances surrounding the murder of Che. The meeting closed with the singing of *l'Internationale*.

In **Vancouver**, over 125 people attended a Memorial Tribute sponsored by the Fair

Play for Cuba Committee. Speakers included Paul Ivory of the Department of Economics, Simon Fraser University, Paul Friedman, Chemical Engineering Department at UBC, Gary Porter of the Young Socialists, Isolde Belfont, a former language teacher in Havana, Allan Harris of the League for Socialist Action, and Bryan Belfont for FPCC. Milton Acorn read two poems, "Where is Che Guevara?" and "Hey You, Guevara," which he had written in tribute to Che.

The University of **Ottawa** students' association French-language paper, *La Rotonde*, devoted its front page to a photo of Che Guevara, together with two tributes by its director, Fernan Carrière, entitled "He Was on the Side of the Wretched of the Earth," and "Two, Three Vietnams . . ." "This embarrassing intellectual," said Carrière, "Took up the revolution of 1917 where Lenin had left it in 1924 and Trotsky in 1939. His harshness towards the 'communists' of Moscow was well known. For him, peaceful coexistence was impossible; he could feel no other way."

Memorial meetings around the world included a tribute in **New York** sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum and attended by 350 people. Among the speakers were Julian Lester of SNCC (*a prominent black civil rights activists group*), Pedro Juan Rua of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*, and Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell's secretary, who had just arrived in New York after being expelled from Bolivia for an attempt to defend Régis Debray.

Other memorial meetings took place in **London and Mexico City**. In Chile, a mass meeting and march was held in **Santiago** on October 17. The Nineteenth Convention of the Secondary Students of Chile passed a motion "to recognize Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara as the main leader of the struggle for the liberation of our people." In **Valparaíso**, two students were shot by police as they wrote "Che Did Not Die" on a wall. On October 18, the Chilean Senate held a session in tribute to Che.

In **Paris**, some 1,600 revolutionists, mostly youth, packed a meeting organized by the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth). Among the speakers was the Belgian revolutionary socialist, Ernest Mandel, who visited Cuba last summer. Mandel analyzed the decisions of the OLAS conference, placing them in the framework of the crisis of Stalinism and the worldwide struggle to build a new revolutionary leadership. He devoted most of his speech to recollections of a long interview which Che Guevara had granted him on a previous visit; and he stressed the stature of the great revolutionist in the development of both the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism.

"To honor the memory of Che Guevara," Mandel concluded, "we should not weep nor mourn for our dead comrade and brother. Che would have wanted us to do but one thing: to continue his struggle, on all fronts, until the final victory is won."

(Both articles unsigned --web editor)

Cross Country With the NDP

The recent convention of the Alberta Federation of Labor, in reaffirming its support of the NDP, criticized the party for projecting a "short-sighted" policy in the provincial election campaign last spring. Specifically, the AFL convention scored the absence of a labor-oriented program, and instructed the federation leadership to develop a labor program for future elections.

Election Lessons

The editorial in the November issue of the Ontario *New Democrat* claims there are "two lessons" to be learned from the recent election campaign. First, the gains were due to the "relevant" party program and the correct strategy of Donald MacDonald. Second, the fact that the NDP did not get the projected 67 seats in 67 or become the official opposition was due to weakness in organization and public relations. The message? More doors must be knocked on next time around.

Fortunately, in the same issue J. R. Smith gives a more serious analysis. In going over the statistics, he concludes that "the character of the party's principal support has made it in effect a labor party. . . It therefore makes excellent sense that the Ontario NDP should recognize

its role in the Ontario political system as being analogous to that of the British Labor Party."

But isn't this precisely what the "relevant" Ontario campaign failed to emphasize? Perhaps this is what the Alberta Federation of Labor is getting at.

Criticizes By-Election Policy

A membership meeting of Toronto's High Park NDP constituency association on November 16 voted to send a letter to federal NDP officials protesting the party's failure to field an official NDP candidate in the Colchester-Hants by-election against Tory leader Stanfield. A candidate backed publically by the federal NDP was all the more necessary, the association felt, in view of the Dosco shutdown and the general economic decline which Nova Scotia is facing. High Park is represented in the Ontario legislature by the NDP's popular Dr. Morton Shulman.

When the NDP failed to nominate in the Nova Scotia riding, the League for Socialist Action nominated Ross Dowson, its executive secretary, thereby forcing an election on Stanfield. Dowson later withdrew when an unofficial NDP candidate, seeing there would be an election anyway, entered the race.

Novakowski Appeals to NDP

Stand for Socialism

by J. Connolly

A hard-hitting criticism of key policies adopted by the NDP Federal convention in Toronto last July appeared in the September issue of the *Alberta Democrat*, the official publication of the Alberta New Democratic Party. The author is Ken Novakowski, federal president of the New Democratic Youth.

Deploping the party's increasing "pragmatism" and "respectability" which drew fulsome praise from editorialists in Liberal and Tory newspapers across the country, Novakowski calls on "socialists, social democrats and progressives of various shapes and forms within the NDP . . . to turn the tide within the NDP and on the basis of an honest and open analysis of capitalist society, approach the electorate of this country with serious proposals for qualitative basic change in the Canadian economic and political structure."

He then takes up the economic and Vietnam resolutions passed at the convention. The economic resolution, he explains, is merely a formula for assisting the growth of Canadian capitalism under the false assumption that an increase in material wealth will solve the problems

**KEN NOVAKOWSKI**

of Canadian workers. The whole question of who has the power to make the important decisions about society is ignored. Presently this power is in the hands of the wealthy few. The resolution of this question, not simply the totalling up of material wealth, is critical to the development of a democratic and creative society. If a corporate economy is maintained in Canada, real decisions "will continue to be made on Bay street," worker alienation will still exist, unemployment, low wages and the cost price squeeze will remain. The demand for public ownership, now a minimal aspect of the NDP program and "frowned upon by the NDP leadership," must be raised.

Vietnam

Novakowski then turns his attention to the "moderate" Vietnam position of the NDP. He states:

"The preamble to the resolution implies that the war was a mistake

by the United States because 'the attempt to intervene in a revolutionary situation in Southeast Asia was bound to end in futility.'

"I contend that the intervention by the United States is actually a blatant act of aggression and wrong whether or not it was bound to end in futility. The resolution goes on to call for a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam at which point Hanoi should indicate its willingness to enter into negotiations. This would be comparable to demanding that the British in the last war negotiate with Nazi Germany if the Luftwaffe were to stop bombing London. It is ridiculous to suggest that a nation should have to negotiate a peace settlement with a foreign power occupying their land. . .

"The Vietnamese must be left to settle their own affairs. The NDP should be vociferously calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam as the only precondition for peace. The NDP should join the public protests now occurring in opposition to the American participation in the war in Vietnam and carry forth a large educational program among its members and public at large in respect to the situation in Vietnam.

"To pass a wishy washy resolution as was done by the NDP at the convention will not help the anti-war movement in Canada at all."

Novakowski concludes: "I would maintain that in its drive towards moderation and electoral respectability the NDP is likely to become meaningless as a political force at all as it will represent no alternative to the present system and the parties that support it. I say the time to end the move to the right in the NDP is now — let's stand for something, let's stand for socialism and a Socialist Canada."

CROSS COUNTRY WITH THE NDP

The October issue of the *Alberta Democrat* carried an article by Dr. Norman Dolman, vice-president of the Alberta NDP, and former candidate in St. Albert. Entitled "Socialism in the Affluent Society," it is the latest contribution to the discussion on socialism in the Alberta NDP journal. Dolman presents an analysis of modern capitalist society dealing with the effects of advertising, the legal system, the profit motive, and other aspects. He concludes that socialism is the only way out:

"The basic industries, which control the economy of Canada must be in the hands of the people. All of these industries should be administered by a board of directors comprising the workers themselves and officials from the government department concerned. Therefore the chasm between management and labor will be gulped forever because *labor will now be the management.*"

Dolman ends with an appeal for principled politics. "I believe that we will make a mistake if we waver in our determination and if we stray from the principles of socialism. I realize as well as the next man that there is a chasm between the principles we hold and those that will get us elected into office, but we can never succeed by saying one thing, being elected and then doing something else."

Sask. NDP

The recent Saskatchewan NDP convention called for action on the continuing railway lay-offs. In doing so, however, the convention resolution fell short of outlining a solid program to fight against the lay-offs. It dealt only with ways to lessen the effects of the firings on the railway workers, accepting as a *fait accompli* the lay-offs themselves. The statement, which talked about longer notices and better re-training plans, echoed the sentiments expressed by T. C. Douglas, who pointed to similar recommend-



T. C. Douglas

ations in the 1965 Freedman Report.

While such expressions of concern for workers under the lay-off gun are welcome, the NDP policy makers should be trying to get at the heart of the matter. If the benefits of automation are to go to the working people then the NDP has to develop a program which can mobilize the working people to fight the profit hungry railway barons. The demand to spread the work — the shorter work week, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay — put forward by the Toronto Labor Council is a step in the right direction. The NDP should take up this demand.

Union Objects

Toronto Local 89 of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, which is affiliated to the NDP, has sent a letter to the Ontario NDP Federal Executive expressing its

"disappointment" over the rejection by the Nov. 12 Ontario Provincial Council meeting of a resolution from the Scarborough East riding association which called for the nationalization of Dosco as the solution for the present crisis in Nova Scotia. The letter stated that nationalization of the plant was the "most obvious and immediate step" that could be taken in order to safeguard the livelihood of the Nova Scotia workers. In view of past government subsidies there was no basis for compensation. The local expressed its solidarity with demands made by the CLC leader and some NDP MP's for nationalization of Dosco.

Poll Trends

The Nov. 25 *Toronto Star* presents an analysis of recent public opinion poll trends from the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. The article, headed "Puzzled Gloom as the NDP Views the Polls," points out that one year ago the NDP was tied with the Conservatives at 26 percent of the popular national support compared with 38 percent for the Liberals. Last February, the NDP had moved ahead of the Tories by 3 points — 28 to 25 percent, with the Liberals dropping to 37 percent. However, by August the NDP had fallen back to the 18 percent it won in the 1965 election, and the latest poll in October after the Tory leadership convention showed the NDP support at 17 percent with the Tories up to 43 to the Liberals' 34.

Just a lot of figures? Not really. Coupled with the statistics which demonstrate that the NDP vote is by and large a working class vote, the polls indicate that the NDP has not yet oriented to its base by presenting itself as a clear class alternative. How else explain the effect of the Tory snow job on the NDP support? Isn't it time the NDP seriously re-examined its program and election strategy in the light of this disturbing data?



STUDENT POWER. Students sit-in in lobby of Montreal's Sir George Williams University, in one-day strike for representation on university governing bodies. They won four seats on University Council. Recent demonstrations against on-campus recruiters for companies manufacturing Vietnam war materials have raised demand for student control over campus job placement offices.

subscribe to

YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM

**THE VOICE OF CANADA'S
SOCIALIST YOUTH**

75 cents for 6 issues

32 CECIL STREET
TORONTO 2B, ONT.



young socialist forum

100
Years of
Injustice



buttons

Free Hugo Blanco	25 cents
Viva Che	25 cents
30 for 40	25 cents

posters

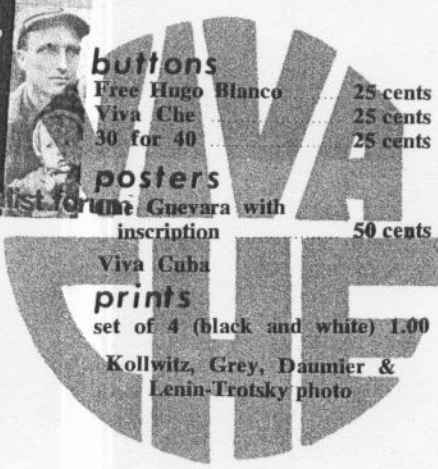
Guevara with inscription	50 cents
--------------------------	----------

Viva Cuba

prints

set of 4 (black and white) 1.00

Kollwitz, Grey, Daumier &
Lenin-Trotsky photo



Control of police commission & boards

Establish genuine democracy in civic government. Elect the Metro mayor. Reconstitute all boards and commissions so that they are completely and sensitively under the democratic will of the citizenry.

Democracy in civic government is drastically narrowed and frustrated by a whole series of boards and commissions over which the citizens of this city have no control whatsoever. These bodies not only serve as rewards for lackeys of the Establishment but are designed to sustain the status quo, to circumscribe the entire democratic process.

Among the most notorious are the Police Commission and the Licensing Commission. The five man all-powerful Police Commission is composed of three provincial cabinet appointees—one a judge, and two magistrates—thus violating the acknowledged-in-words democratic concept of the separation of the police from the judiciary. The others are the non-elective Metro mayor, and Toronto Mayor Givens, for which he gets an addition of \$5,000 to his \$21,500 pay.

Tax the greedy, not the needy

The small home owner suffers a heavy and ever-increasing tax burden. His domicile carries the main tax burden. Big Business interests, which accumulate increased wealth through locating their properties in Toronto and drawing on its work force, get off lightly. On top of that many of them profit from considerable

tax exemptions. Properties with an assessed value of almost one billion dollars are tax-exempt. Young calls for the immediate elimination of all exemptions and the setting up of a public commission to hear all appeals. If there are to be any exemptions they should be granted on the basis of social contributions.



For an NDP municipal government

What kind of men run the city of Toronto? Mayor Givens let us in on the secret, only a few days ago. "I'm a boss" he said, as he led the entire administration into action against the civic inside workers. The Metro council unanimously threatened to have the union and its leaders fined for the "crime" of respecting a picket line of their striking brothers, and Mayor Givens spoke of having the union decertified for its action.

Only last year, Givens joined with other civic officials to break a threatened strike of city hydro workers. Intervening as supposed "mediators", they arranged a back-door deal with their good friend Premier Robarts and had a compulsory arbitration bill rammed through the legislature.

Today we see a massive campaign across Canada by the bosses, and their servants in governments and the courts, to shackle the union movement with injunctions,

compulsory arbitration, and other legal restrictions. Dozens of unionists have already been sent to jail for exercising the right to strike and the right to picket. Where do Givens & co., stand? Fully behind the anti-labor drive! If the city had provided decent wage and working conditions for the civic employees, it would have set an example, challenging all Toronto employers. But it allied itself with the union haters across the country.

They tell us they run as individuals, as honest citizens concerned with our welfare. In fact, 21 of 23 members of City Council are declared party members, and no less than 18 of them belong to the Liberal or Tory party, the boss parties of Canada.

The labor movement has built a political party, the New Democratic Party, the one party based, not on handouts from the giant corporations but on the resources and energies of working people and their organizations. The NDP now receives a third of the vote in the Toronto area — enough to sweep any civic election! The handwriting is on the wall for the Liberal and Tory municipal machines.

But the leaders of the NDP and of organized labor in this city have failed. They have not put forward even the most minimal slate. The Labor Council's policy has led to confusion and division in labor's ranks for it resulted in the endorsing of candidates of the boss parties.

The League for Socialist Action has repeatedly asked the Toronto NDP and labor movement to shoulder its responsibilities to the people of this city — to field an NDP slate for office. In the face of their failure to do so, the LSA is sponsoring a candidate for controller. The ISA anticipates in doing so, that thousands of Torontonians will cast their ballot for independent labor political action — for Art Young, Controller.

Meet Art Young

Art Young has been active in the labor, socialist, and student movements for some years. Now 23 years old, he was an Ontario Scholar. While at university, he was active in support of the New Democratic Party and in opposition to the Vietnam war. Moving on to edit a monthly newspaper, he involved himself in the labor movement through the League for Socialist Action.

Mr. Young has just returned from a four-month cross-Canada tour on behalf of the LSA and its newspaper, the Workers Vanguard. He is Toronto organizer of the LSA.

What is the LSA?

The League for Socialist Action which is sponsoring Art Young for controller is an organization of Canadian women and men who seek to win the majority to establish a socialist Canada as part of a world-wide society of peace and plenty. Its executive secretary, who has contested the Toronto mayoralty in the past, is Ross Dowson.

subscribe to

Workers VANGUARD

A monthly journal that fights for this program all year around. Take advantage of our special offer. Mail 50 cents in stamps for 12 issues to:

1 Cumberland St.  14

UNION 1967?

**Vote
Socialist
Elect
ART YOUNG
Board of
Control**



Sponsored by the
League for Socialist Action
Election Headquarters
1 Cumberland St. 922-6665

The Challenge

The two most pressing issues facing all of us today are the Vietnam war, and the skyrocketing cost of living. The bulk of the candidates ignore these questions. They either consider that the overall situation confronting the citizens of Toronto and the rest of the country is sound, or they claim that they are outside the arena of municipal politics.

They express concern for the taxpayers' dollar. But they ignore the primary cause of our loss in buying power — inflation. They talk lyrically of civic progress. But they ignore Washington's escalation of the war in Vietnam, which imperils the entire world — Toronto and its progress included.

The Vietnam war is very much a civic issue. It concerns us all. In Dearborn, Michigan, an important suburb of Detroit, the City Council decided that the issue was so important that it should be put on the ballot, that a referendum should be held. Last month, 41% of this community voted to pull the U.S. troops out of Vietnam.

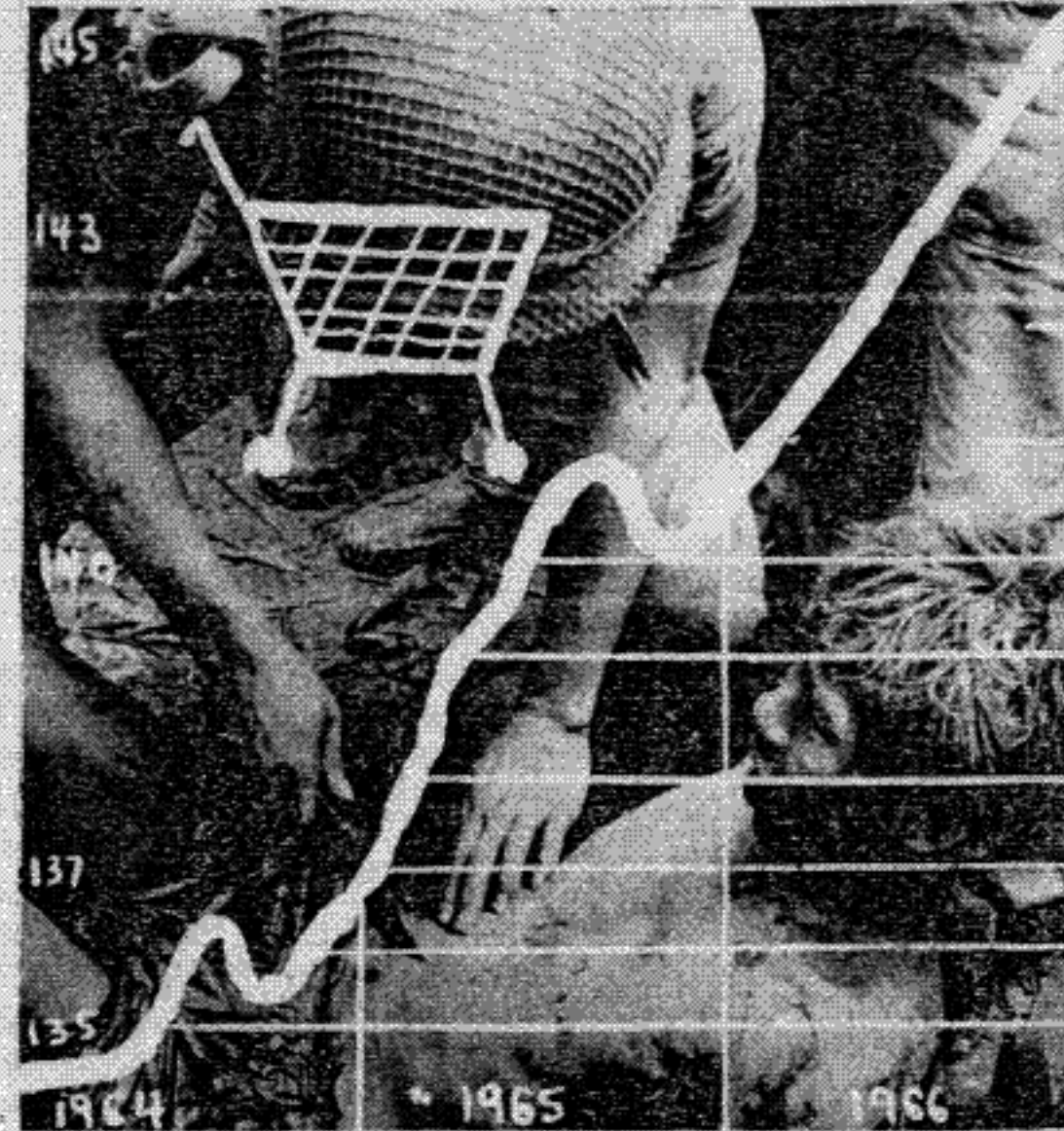
The cost of living is spiralling. This is primarily due to the vast sums being spent on the military juggernaut that is murdering the people of Vietnam. The more than \$36 million a day spent on the war represents money which could have been invested to produce cars, homes, appliances, schools, food. Because it is not, there are shortages of these items in the face of increased demands. Their prices shoot up.

Canada's economy is so closely bound to that of the United States that American military spending directly induces inflation throughout Canada. Besides, important sectors of Canadian economy, instead of producing consumers' goods are turning out high explosives, napalm, and troop-carrying planes for the U.S. military machine. Under the Pearson government's policy of support of Washington's dirty war we have become merchants of death.

Torontonians may even be dying in the jungles of Vietnam before long. Australia and New Zealand have already been swept up in the war. As it expands, pressures increase upon the Ottawa government to send troops to aid the U.S. war. What guarantees do we have that the government will not submit as it did when it brought nuclear warheads into this country?

Civic politicians must take a stand on this ominous war which is widening minute by minute, which is shrinking our dollar. Civic politicians should say whether or not they approve of federal government solicited contracts which result in the production of the instruments of mass slaughter within the confines of Metro Toronto.

Vietnam & Price Escalation



A clear identity of the city administration with the anti-war movement in Canada could lead to the end of Canadian collusion in this dirty war and strengthen the forces in the U.S. urging withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Strong support by city council to the protest launched by housewives against mounting food costs, which have already forced modest cuts in prices, firm identity with their call for a Prices Review Board, the moves to build consumers' co-operatives, and the developing demand that the books of the corporations be opened to public scrutiny, would result in bigger price cuts, and more lasting results.

Declare yourself against this monstrous and expanding war. Declare yourself against the inflationary Vietnam war. Vote Young for Controller.

Breakthrough for low cost housing

"It'll be a full-scale disaster if this trend carries on!" exclaimed alderman Kenneth Dear upon viewing the recent civic housing record. From July to October, almost 7,000 Toronto families asked for public housing; but the city could find room for only 521 of them. More than that number gave up, dropping off the list.

It's not just the destitute who need public housing. Last spring real estate men figured a family had to earn \$7,000 a year to buy a home. Now they're saying it has to top \$9,000. That is almost double the \$5,000 average family income in Toronto.

What has the city done to assure Torontonians adequate shelter for themselves and their families? Almost nothing. Since World War Two, less than 3,000 units of public housing have been built — 150 a year. At that rate, it would take forty years just to house those who are now on the waiting list.

The present administration meets this long-term crisis

by providing emergency shelter to a few families, placing them in vacant Armories which are fire traps. The living conditions there do not permit the slightest shred of privacy or dignity.

Public housing is allocated to dirty, polluted, unwanted areas of the city. City council has just allocated \$10 million for such a project on St. Helen's Ave, an action which Toronto Planning Board chairman labelled "criminal." Another project, the Blue Heron development, so lacks open space around it that it contravenes Metro housing regulations.

The fact is that the housing needs of this city are left to the mercy of business — Big Business. The failure of the city to provide low-cost housing, causes land and home prices to shoot up. One dealer made a profit of \$5,000 on one house within three weeks.

Isn't it high time to put the needs of the people first, to undertake a massive crash program of low-cost, low-rental subsidized housing? Isn't it high time to sweep out the big business candidates who through their reluctance and inaction block our needs? Vote Young for Controller on December 5.

For metro medicare, insurance

Working people living in certain areas of the city that are slated for redevelopment are being blacklisted. Despite the fact that their homes meet city standards, insurance companies are refusing to sell them fire insurance, or only at exorbitantly higher rates.

Many corporations with large and widely dispersed properties make considerable savings by insuring their own properties. While the city is by far the largest property owner in the Metro area it hands out fat policies to the major insurance companies.

The city should insure its own properties. And it should break the blacklist being enforced by the wealthy insurance brokers on sections of the city by insuring properties in these areas.

Once again the Liberal government in Ottawa has failed to implement its long promised Medicare. Citizens of Toronto are compelled to resort to the Robart's plan which is designed to forestall a genuine Medicare plan.

Saskatchewan, with considerably less population and facilities than the Metro Toronto area, implemented its own Medicare. The citizens of Toronto already finance hospitals in the area through direct subsidies paid through taxes and by donations. The needs of the community should come before the vested interests in medicine. The city should legislate a Metro area medicare to make the great achievements of medical science available to anyone who needs them.

Remove fares on publicly-owned TTC

The people of this huge, expanding city need cheap, efficient transportation. But Toronto residents face yet another increase in TTC fares, according to the transit body.

Millions of our dollars are being spent on expressways, underpasses, parking facilities, and transit subsidies. Yet fares continue to rise. Only four years ago a Metro study indicated that 35% of all motorists would leave their cars at home; that millions could be saved on TTC administration, roads, and parking facilities; that congestion would be eased; if we had free transit.

One authority remarked "eventually it will happen... public transportation will have to be treated as garbage collection and water." Young stands for the immediate implementation of free transit.